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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

SAMBO ALL THE TIME.

Editorial Correspondence of The N. Y. Express.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 6.

I HEAR expressed, among civilians and intelligent military officers, many utterances of regret, disgust, and indignation at the disposition in both Houses of Congress to launch forth at once upon a new slavery discussion. Negro work for months has been carved out by certain members, but it is rather the work of those who wish to put the first step forward in a popular storm and demonstration, than of thoughtful, earnest, and patriotic men, who love their country and desire to see its peace and honor restored. The question of slavery—what to do with "contrabands"—what to do with "fugitives from service," belonging to loyal and disloyal masters—what to do with ten thousand free negroes—may well cause sober inquiry and sober disposition. But just now, these are questions which are in the process of development, and they might better be left with the Administration, and the Military Departments controlled by the Administration, than with those who, at best, cannot know half as much of the real state of the country. Gen. Halleck comes in for a good deal of vulgar abuse from the extreme men of Congress, for his proclamation in Missouri, just as Gen. Sherman and Gen. Dix do for their proclamations in South Carolina and Virginia; but in spite of all the personal clamor and all the noise of members, and all the resolutions and calls from radical Senators and Representatives upon the heads of Departments and upon the President, I believe there is virtue enough left in Congress even to pay some practical respect to the requirements of that *old* Constitution, which all public men have sworn to support. Sensible anti-slavery men, who do not wish too soon to become possessed of that elephantic prize in the lottery—four million of slaves taken in one net—by an act of Congress, will by and bye learn the virtue of that proverb which tells us to "Make haste slowly."

The following is a specimen of the colors in which Sambo has been presented during three days of the session by grave Senators and Representatives:

"Sambo in the District of Columbia."
"Sambo in the Territories."
"Sambo among the Indian Tribes."
"Sambo in jail."
"Sambo in the Courts."
"Sambo in Rebeldom."
"Sambo in the Loyal States."
"Sambo in Canada."
"Sambo Colonized."
"Sambo in Camp."
"Sambo at large."
"Sambo in the Army."
"Sambo in the Navy."
"Sambo under Parliamentary Law."
"Sambo in Committee of the Whole."
"Sambo before a Special Committee."
"Sambo on the Railroads."
"Sambo on the highways." (1)

Sober-minded men, who look beyond their noses—who remember Hayti and Jamaica—who see what the free blacks in Canada are, and know the idle habits of the race, naturally feel some alarm at the radical measures proposed in Congress; but many of them you may put down to Buncombe, and regard as the natural ebulitions of those who, for long years, have traded before the people in this negro excitement. They are the Pandora's Box of evil to the land, no real friend of the negro, and certainly none to the white race. I was glad to hear Mr. Fessenden say yesterday in the Senate, that he intended to move on this question, within the circle prescribed by the Constitution—the old Constitution of '87 and '89, and not the new Constitution of the Sumners and Lanes of the Senate, of the Lovejoys of the House of Representatives and of the Wendell Phillips's of Boston. All these men declare and believe slavery to be dying or dead. If it be so, they might remember that it is only the hyena who opens the graves, and disturbs the bones of the dead.

E. B.

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(1) The list is not complete without this addition: "Sambo in *The Express, passim.*"—ED. STANDARD.

WARD BEECHER ON EMANCIPATION.

From The Newburyport Herald.

HENRY WARD BEECHER is one of the able men of this era: he is the ablest of all his family, and that is saying much, for there is not one of them that is not above mediocrity. But Ward Beecher—and we may say the same of all the Beechers—is somewhat erratic—genius always is—and frequently on national topics we should have no sympathy with the man or his words. Ward Beecher, however, has an under stratum of common sense, which appealed to on any momentous question, brings him right. Like many other people who in years past believed themselves in the front ranks of the progressives, he finds in the midst of this revolution, that the fossils have been aroused, and are sweeping far ahead of him; and he—even Ward Beecher—is constrained to lift a warning voice to tell, not Charles Sumner and Wendell Phillips, and Lloyd Garrison, that it is time to hold back, but Daniel S. Dickinson and the Hunker Democrats, who only a short year ago broke up the Democratic party because it was becoming Abolitionized, that the proposition to declare emancipation, in disregard of law, will end in the destruction of this Republic. We quote below from his sermon, delivered on Thanksgiving day; and commend it both to clergymen and politicians, who, seized with the prevailing mania, are whirling about in the crazy dreams of the day, without one thought of law or Constitution or national compacts, that should be binding on all—who, because the South have gone mad and rushed to rebellion, which must end in their ruin, would themselves go mad, and plunge into the boiling cauldron of violence and anarchy, to whose brink revolutions always lead:

"Of all the advice that has been given, while it may seem to those who know not the nature of our institutions most rational, there is none that chimes more with the Northern feeling than this—to make a declaration of emancipation to settle this difficulty; and yet neither the popular impulse nor the foreign advice can be followed. *We must conduct this war by and through our institutions*, or else we must declare that our institutions have failed, and that we have reverted to original principles. There is only one or the other of these courses. The last we cannot and shall not do. We are not going to say to the world that republican institutions have so signally failed that we must abandon them, and reëstablish other ones. No man will say that. We who boast of our Constitution must not violate it ourselves in putting down those who violate it. *We must not by Congressional legislation declare political emancipation.* I wish we could. I wish Adam had not sinned, and his posterity had not been affected; but that does not help the matter. I wish our fathers had stood out against what are called the compromises of the Constitution. Better then than now. The serpent just hatched is not half so much to be feared as the serpent full grown. Our troubles have increased with every generation, and what is the use of sighing over what we can't help? Our fathers signed the bond, and we accepted it. *Can we afford to break it for the sake of even so magnificent a result as the emancipation of the slave?* Shall we rend the crystal instrument—the joy of the world, and our pride? It is very easy to say, 'Now it is a state of war—let us declare emancipation.' The war has not driven us out of our institutions. We are not ourselves in a state of rebellion. We cannot expect by destroying the Constitution to put down the rebellion. If any one ask me whether a law or a constitution are superior to original principles of morality and justice, I say no; but plighted faith is itself in nature of a sacred moral principle. Our faith is given, and must be kept! When we cannot abide by our promise, then, in methods expressly provided, we must withdraw the pledge and the agreements of the Constitution, and stand apart as two separate people."

The New York *Journal of Commerce* notices this sermon of Mr. Beecher in the following terms:

"Rev. H. W. Beecher preached on Thanksgiving day to his congregation in Brooklyn. On the proposition to proclaim emancipation, in disregard of law and Constitution, he took a decided view, contrasting most favorably with the twaddle of Charles Sumner, and presenting the curious picture of a clergyman teaching sounder political doctrines than a United States Senator."

Selections.

GERRIT SMITH TO THADDEUS STEVENS.

PETERBORO, Dec. 6, 1861.

HON. THADDEUS STEVENS, M.C.—*Dear Sir:* I have finished reading the President's Message, Secretary Cameron's Report, and your resolution.

The Report speaks on the slave question in a frank and manly way. And its proposition for new boundaries in the case of several States is highly judicious, save that instead of conditioning the boundaries on a change in the representation of Maryland, it should have conditioned them on the entire abolition of slavery in all those States. Does the Secretary need still further proof that the Capital can never be secure whilst surrounded by slave States? Would he leave its great source of peril essentially undiminished?

The Message is marked with the characteristic sincerity and patriotism of the President. Nevertheless its treatment of the question of slavery—of the great and all-controlling question in the war—is such as to confirm my apprehension that the country is lost. With all his desire to save it he has never yet welcomed, if indeed he has ever yet conceived, the idea of saving it at whatever cost. The saving of the Constitution, and of all the rights enjoyed under it, and especially those which the nation has ever conceded to slaveholders, is essential to his conception of a saved country. But could we come out of this war with nothing left to us but our territorial limits and a handful of survivors still cherishing the principles of Democracy and still breathing the spirit of equal rights, we should in my esteem come out of it with a saved country. Meagre and naked as would be such a result in the eyes of our conservative President, I would nevertheless count it above all price, and would, if needful, sacrifice all else to secure it. If, as I so strongly fear, a lost country will be our share in the fruits of this contest, it will be owing to nothing so much as the unrelaxed purpose of the President to save along with the country, and at whatever hazard to the country, things which are not among its essential and eternal parts, but only among its temporary and changeful arrangements. In other words, to this unrelaxed purpose to save all will be owing the loss of all.

Another thing in the President very deeply to be regretted is that he has never seemed to be sensible of the great perils of his country. How else can we account for his indifference and his opposition to measures so manifestly indispensable to its salvation? Whilst millions of his countrymen are entirely confident that either slavery or the Union must go down in this war, he sees no difficulty in preserving both; and persistently cherishes his policy and shapes his plans to preserve both. I have never seen a phrenological chart of his head. But I have no doubt that his veneration is large and his destructiveness small. He would keep all things precisely as they are. He would have the fugitive slave sent back to the very spot he came from, and into exactly his former relations. He would not allow one line or letter of the Constitution to be disturbed by the necessities of war. If in ordinary times he might make the very best of Presidents, nevertheless now, when a mighty and relentless rebellion is threatening the nation with overthrow, such a President will make the overthrow sure unless he be radically changed or sternly overruled. Who can read the Message and see with what twattle and trash the President has filled the space which should have been devoted to such great words on the great question in conducting the war as would have met the demands of the hour—who, I say, can do so without feeling that the President is not the man for the hour? Were he that man, he would not be expending words, least of all kind words, upon that utterly atheistic topic of "homes for white men." Were he that man, his talk now would not be of "colonization." It would not be of expelling our friends from the country, but rather of arming them that they might help us expel our foes. Black friends no more than white friends can we spare just now from the country. In the right time and circumstances colonization is a good thing. But it is not an adequate cure for the ills we are now suffering. How impertinent and arrogant is this everlasting inquiry on the part of the whites as to what they shall do with the blacks! There is room enough in our broad country for white men and black men, and red men, if only they will recognize each other as God's children, and thus dwell together in mutual good will. But if any one of these varieties of the human family revolts at this condition, that is the very one which should leave the country, and which is fit for no other country. He is a monster rather than a man, who denies that our black brethren have earned a home in this land which they have wet like the rain with their sweat, and tears, and blood. It is *preëminently* their land. They may leave it when they will. But the God of the oppressed will not suffer them to leave it till they will. He has already begun to punish American oppression very horribly. And let American oppression beware lest He make the punishment still more horrid. Quite enough blood will be shed without making it more by the policy of direct or virtual expulsion. Under that policy there will be "blood—even unto the horse-bridles."

I spoke a moment since in favor of arming the blacks. I do not forget the often-expressed opinion that, inasmuch as there are whites enough to fight for us, we need not arm the blacks. But if for no other end than to advertise the blacks of the whole country that we are their friends, and that ours is the side for them to flock to, there should be black regiments. A few such moving down from Canada and the Northern States, at the beginning of the war, would have had the effect to bring it to a very speedy end. But instead of such a judicious and indispensable advertisement by this or similar means, we have, by employing the army in sending back fugitive slaves, told the blacks of the whole country that we are their enemies, and that ours is *not* the side for them to flock to. Was there ever such infatuation as that which has characterized the action of the government respecting the blacks?

I pass on to your resolution. Having long numbered you with the wise and far-seeing statesmen, I was not surprised to find you on the very first day of the session of Congress calling for action on the slave question. You were right in being thus early. The case admits of no delay. A single month's inaction of Congress in this so urgent case might prove fatal to the country.

I have referred to my fear that our country is lost. Through nearly all the Autumn it has been strong and increasingly strong. The recent considerable successes of our arms, and the preparations for greater, serve only to make it stronger. For their necessary tendency is to encourage that infatuation on the slave question, so painfully indicated by the proclamations of Gens. Sherman, Dix and Halleck. The more there shall be of these successes, and the greater these preparations, the less likely will government be to do on that question what it would hasten to do were there defeats instead of these successes, and discouragements in the place of these preparations. The probability is that we shall soon take all, or nearly all, of the Southern ports, and conquer in some great battles. Then it will be that the alarmed South (provided we have not anticipated her by a like, or virtually like, measure), taking counsel of her fears, and of a jealous as well as a philanthropic, a democratic as well as a slavery-hating Europe, will, by an act of emancipation identify with her cause her whole black population, bond and free—if not indeed the whole five million of blacks of the whole country and Canada. Why will she not do so? Other countries, when hard-pressed by their foes, have done the like. It has been done upon our own continent and in our own day. Entirely true is it that slaveholding *was* the pride of the South. But it is as true that it is so no longer. That pride is swallowed up in her pride to defeat the North. If the South shall take this desperate but decisive step, and make close allies of the millions who can live in her mountains and marshes, and whose women are in all daring and doing but little behind her men, we shall not be able to conquer her even if the nations, impatient of our prolonged derangement of the industry and commerce of the world, shall give us time for it. Again, we shall not in that case be able to conquer her, because the moral sense of the world will forbid it. Nay, when she has put away the sole cause of the war, we shall not ourselves have a heart to conquer her. And then would our loved country be lost! For then it would be divided. Moreover, what of it was left to us would probably have to submit to further national divisions. Our Southern neighbor would most certainly be a monarchy—and that, too, of the most despotic type. For what other type, when the ignorant white and black masses of the South are disjoined from the intelligent North, would be deemed adequate to govern such ignorance? Sad prospect this to our patriotism! Sad prospect this to our republicanism! and to all, both in the Old World and New, who had trusted that our grand experiment of republicanism would honor forever in the eyes of all mankind that principle and plan of government!

Your resolution takes good ground. I confess that I should not myself shrink from a sweeping act of emancipation by Congress. For, although I have never contended that the nation could, with clear constitutional right, act *through its Legislature*, in time of peace, directly on the great system of slavery, I have long contended that it could do so in time of war. Moreover, ever since the Southern half of the nation threw away the Constitution, in order that she might more fully and effectually fight the Northern half, I have been entirely willing that the Northern half should also throw it away, if thereby she could more freely and effectually fight the Southern half. Yes, in all matters touching this stupendous and Satanic rebellion I should be quite willing to see Congress sit and act under that simple law of necessity which knows no other law than itself. Aware, however, as I am of the veneration of most men for law, even when they are in straits which make such veneration absurd and ridiculous, and aware, too, as I am, that only a minority of the people believe that the Constitution authorizes it, I have not supposed that Congress would enact a law of emancipation; and therefore, during the present crisis, I have not advocated the enactment of it. Yours is the highest ground to which I had hoped Congress and the country could be brought: and of late I had almost ceased to hope for even this. For so given up is the President to the pride and insanity, or, as he deems it, to the Constitutionality of whipping the enemy with one hand, that I was almost ready to take it for granted that both Congress and the country would conclude that he must be allowed to take his own way—a way none the less ruinous if it be constitutional instead of proud and insane.

I hope your resolution will be adopted. But will it be executed? It is a resolution in behalf of the use of martial law. But the way he has used it in the proclamations of McClellan and Sherman, Dix and Halleck, leaves but little room to hope that he would execute your resolution. At the extra session your body resolved that slave-catching is not suitable for the army. Nevertheless, the President did not consent to hold back the army from its glaringly unconstitutional and utterly infernal work. Had the President taken, last spring, the ground of your resolution, the war would ere this have been ended; slavery abolished; the country left undivided and indivisible, and with such prospects of a speedy prosperity, homogeneousness and happiness as bless the eyes of no other nation. And were he even at this late day to take it, there would be all this resulting present and prospective good. But in vain will he take it after a much longer delay.

If in the light of the past you cannot trust the President to execute this resolution, there are still two other remedies against ruin. Either of two laws which Congress might enact would, if the President should not successfully veto them, be an effectual remedy. The country being at war, Congress has, as I have already said, the right (so grandly argued by John Quincy Adams!) to enact a law abolishing American slavery. Would that it had the wisdom and bravery to enact it! Thereby would it enduringly honor itself and immeasurably bless the world. I have in this letter given my reasons for supposing that Congress will not enact it: and I admit that such an exercise of the war power is not defined or specified in the Constitution. It is included in it only inferentially. Nevertheless, it is from the very nature of the case included in it certainly.

The other law which Congress might enact (Amendments to existing laws would probably suffice) would be one for recruiting the army from the blacks as well as the whites. It would be too clearly constitutional to be in danger of encountering the President's veto. Its passage would doubtless be opposed by some blind or stubborn devotees of the Slave Power, and by some secessionists in thin disguise. They would oppose it on the ground of its conflict with certain State laws. There *would* be such conflict. These slaveholding laws do, to the exclusion of all Federal authority and of all right authority in heaven and earth, claim all power over its victims. But were our nation in a life or death struggle with France or England, would Congress allow itself to be controlled by this claim? No! No!! It would insist on its constitutional right "to raise and support armies" from whatever sources and by whatever means it pleased, and to pay such wages as it pleased. It would compose them of black as well as white men; and seeing the endurance and hardihood of black women, it might draw upon them also. It might, as your resolution could perhaps be construed to mean, "order freedom" to slaves *as their wages partial or entire*. But I hope it would not. I hope it would never be so unjust as to let the former enslavement of a soldier be a reason for reducing his money pay. No, Congress would no more in the event of such a war suffer itself to be trammelled by slave laws than by laws (were a State insane enough to enact them) which should assume the absolute and exclusive control of light-haired white men. It would enlist black-faced men and light-haired men in equal and entire disrespect of whatever State laws might stand in its way. But if Congress would thus act in the case of a foreign war, more emphatically should it when the enemy is a far more fearful one because in our own bosom, and has by throwing away the Constitution cut itself off from all liberty to quote the Constitution. I hardly need add that Congress, by simply taking the ground that it will allow neither the complexion nor the condition of men to be an obstacle to its raising armies, will, though indirectly, nevertheless effectually, work out the entire abolition of the whole system of American slavery. Will the South say that this is more than she contracted for when she got up this war? Our answer is that she should have more carefully surveyed the exceedingly wide scope of the contract, and more carefully studied its terrific liabilities. In other words, she should have calculated all the cost of the rebellion before plunging into it.

One thing more under this head. Not only have our Generals no constitutional right to know men as slaves, and not only have they been kidnappers and made themselves liable to be punished as such for sinking men into slavery, but Congress itself has no right to know men as slaves. Even pro-slavery jurists, however great the latitude which they claim the Constitution gives to State legislation in this matter, do not generally claim that the National government has the power either to make a slave or the right to recognize any one as a slave.

You propose "compensation" to the loyal masters of slaves. I had always held it to be the duty of the North, being *particeps criminis*, to share with the South in the present loss of emancipation; though I had always regarded the claim of property in man with as much abhorrence as I would regard the claim of property in his Maker. But when slavery brought this impoverishing war upon us I felt that we could hardly consent to let the abolition of slavery cost us anything beyond the cost of the war. So expensive as well as so sure a way of abolishing slavery did I feel the war to be. Nevertheless, as the loyal slaveholders are only a comparative handful, and as they have honorably refused to follow the general example of slaveholders, they ought to be generously dealt with; and I therefore raise no objection to this part of your resolution.

Since beginning this letter I have received the Report of the Secretary of the Navy. In this time of abounding nonsense on the slave question, the good common sense with which he treats it is exceedingly refreshing. Like yourself and Fremont he recognizes not the chattelhood but the manhood of the slave. It is true that in our confiscation of the slave, as a chattel, the South is by her own definition of him estopped from complaining of us. But at no time, and especially now, when we stand in such peculiar need of the favor of God, can we afford to insult Him by classing His children—the beings made in His own image—with brutes and things.

And just as I was finishing this letter, I learned that the President has laid his destroying hand on the best part of Secretary Cameron's Report, as he did on the best part of the Secretary's Order to Gen. Sherman, and on the best part of Gen. Fremont's Proclamation. And on my first and hasty reading of the recent Order of the Secretary of the Treasury, concerning the employment of negroes, I fancied that I saw the same dreaded hand in that also. For I could not believe that this accomplished Secretary, whose head is as clear as his heart is honest, would of himself be in favor of recognizing slaveholding rights in the Gulf States. Surely no slavery in those States is any longer legalized by laws which the nation is bound to recognize and enforce. Such laws, so far certainly as the nation could be held by them, were all abrogated some nine to twelve months ago. And to say that the nation is held by laws enacted or revived by Confederate States, would be as absurd as to say that it is held by the rules of the pirates of the seas. But, on a second and more careful reading of the Order I find no liberty to infer that the Secretary looks upon "Persons held to service for life under State laws" in the Gulf States as still slaves, or to be recognized by the nation as such.

The President was chosen to save the nation. But it turns out that with all his merit he is nevertheless the very one to kill it. What is worse, the people will probably let him kill it. For it is not easy to unsettle such deep confidence as they reposed in the man of their choice; and it is not easy to face the shame of confessing that a choice so confident and enthusiastic was nevertheless unfortunate.

I am not disposed to underrate the President. I admit that he is more intellectual than nine-tenths of the politicians, and more honest than ninety-nine hundreds of them. I admit, too, that he would have made a good President had he only not been trained to worship the Constitution. And I also admit that Constitution-worship is not peculiar to him. It has long been our national folly; and hence is it that it is now working out our national ruin.

Slavery creates many and aggravates more of our evils. If it is not true that our Constitution-worship originated with slavery, it is nevertheless true that this vice, like so many others, is "set on fire of that hell." The Constitution being the popularly acknowledged protector of slavery, the great work for slavery to do was to deepen and spread this worship of the Constitution. Perhaps on no mind has this bad work been done more successfully and fatally than on the ingenuous and receptive mind of the President. So that now, when he is in a position to save his country, and when too he has a heart to save it, his education nevertheless compels him to kill it. Taught to confound the Constitution with the country, and to regard slavery as the preëminent care of the Constitution, he necessarily believes that, in saving slavery, he is saving the country. That slavery is the deadly enemy of the country can have no place in a mind educated to look upon slavery as the pet *protege* of the Constitution, and the Constitution to be all one with the country.

What must be the President's answer to the question—why he could have his Marshals pursue the poor innocents?—what but that the country (slavery ruling in the Constitution and the Constitution being one with the country) made it necessary? What, too, but the same answer to the question—why he can similarly employ his Generals? And what, also, but the same answer to the question—why he suffers (for without his sufferance it would not be) the Washington City Prison to be crowded with scores of these hapless ones? That accursed prison! Among the most pleasant remembrances of my brief congressional life was my success in getting out of it the black man Noah Hanson. Warm were my thanks to Gov. Aiken and Col. Orr for the help they gave me!

I said that this Constitution-worship is not peculiar to the President. Read yesterday's speech of Senator Trumbull, of Illinois, for proof that he is no less addicted to it, and for proof that the nation would have been no better off had he been the President. Fully do I agree with him that the provisions of the Constitution are ample in war as well as in peace, and that its infraction is at no time necessary. I am not an opponent of the Constitution. I have, probably, made a dozen speeches for it where the Senator has made one, and written a dozen pages for it where he has written one. But when he says: "While fighting this battle in behalf of constitutional liberty it behooves us especially to see to it that the Constitution receives no detriment at our hands"; and when he also says, "We will have gained but little in suppressing the insurrection if it be at the expense of the Constitution"—when he says this he ascribes to the Constitution an importance which does not belong to it. I deny that our object in the war is to save the Constitution from detriment or even from destruction. I deny that our object is the uninteresting and little one of saving a paper which not one American in one hundred has read the whole of, and which not one American in one thousand gives his mind and much less his heart to—and a better one than which ten thousand men in the country are capable of writing. On the contrary, we are in a struggle to save the country, and to save it too at whatever hazards to the Constitution or to aught else. We are to save from conquest and from the most hateful threatened dominion that which interests the highest and the humblest—her fields and forests, her waters and mountains, her temples and schools, her loved homes of the living and her scarcely less loved, and even more sacred, homes of the dead. All these we are to save from dishonorable transfer; and the remainder of the great elements which go to make up a country—the people and the genius, and principles, of their government—we are to save from a barbarous and ruthless destruction. These are the things for which we are waging this war with stupendous and mitigated crime. These are the sources from which we draw our inspiration—and the Senator is poorly employed in attempting to turn us away from them to the dry breasts of the Constitution. The Constitution has its value—its great value. In the present crisis it is to be used as a means to save the country; and the country must not be involved in even the slightest danger for the sake of saving the Constitution. Our great underlying principles of Free Government will reproduce Constitutions as often as there shall be occasion for their reproduction. Yes, and if we are only true to those principles, every new Constitution will be an improvement upon its predecessor.

I would always consent to fling away the whole Constitution rather than retain it, if it necessarily operates to the loss of any of the possessions or the damage of any of the rights or interests which are essentially comprised in the true definition of the word country. I had rather lose ten thousand Constitutions than let the Cataract of Cataracts pass from out our national limits. Aye, I would rather lose them than lose little Minnehaha. None would consent to lose the "Father of Rivers" at any price; but I would not retain the Constitution in exchange for the least river that waters American soil. Not only that highest peak of the Rocky Mountains where the intrepid "Pathfinder" planted our national standard, but even the humblest hill which casts its shadow upon that soil is far dearer to my patriotism than any Constitution. Yes, and I had rather the Constitution were all blotted out than to see it used (if it permits such use) to rob the least black baby of its least rights. Infinitely dearer to my patriotism as well as to my humanity is that baby than any paper. The Constitution is here to-day and supplanted to-morrow—and probably by a better one. But the sacred rights of that baby are enshrined in the great heart of Heaven, and are unchangeable and eternal.

Oh no, the Constitution is not the country. It is comparatively a petty thing. And if, in this hour of their country's deep danger, the people are to be rallied by no other or no stronger cry than to save the Constitution, then beyond a doubt both country and Constitution will be lost. It was not for a Constitution but for a country that our revolutionary fathers fought. They had a country before they had a Constitution; and they loved it as well before as they did after. It will not be said that it was the tiond and dull "Articles of Confederation" which so wrought upon their spirit. But perhaps it will be said that it was the "Declaration of Independence." I admit its power over them; and I would that it had such power over us. We would not have been in the straits we are now in, had that paper been to us, as it was to them, the supreme Constitution—the Constitution of Constitutions. But were we to admit that the revolutionary fathers fought for a Constitution—the Declaration of Independence being the Constitution—yet there is no comparison between ours and theirs—ours which but furnishes machinery for the working of government, and theirs in whose principles lie the very soul of all free and righteous political government.

Nothing can be more shrivelling to our patriotism than to call it away from the love and inspirations of country to this exaggerated importance of a mere paper. The Swiss will peril all to save the dear mountains and valleys and homes of Switzerland. But to no such pitch of enthusiasm can they be wrought by a call to keep themselves within the precise limits of a paper in which, if they have one like ours, there is neither soul nor sentiment, and nothing but a collection of the driest political rules. "Fatherland" is dear to the German, not because of this or that set of such rules, but simply because it is "Fatherland." And that the inspiriting thought of dear America, with or without her Constitution, is in the esteem of our statesmen insufficient to stir American blood, shows to what a miserable pack of statesmen we are reduced.

> "Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
> Who never to himself hath said,
> This is my own, my native land?"

These familiar lines were not written with a paper before the eyes, but with a country in the soul, of the writer.

> "In ev'ry clime the magnet of the soul
> Touch'd by remembrance trembles to that pole."

Nor was it to a remembered paper, but to a remembered land, that the writer of these sweet lines ascribes this power.

> "—— *moriens reminiscitur Argos.*"

Nor was it to a mere paper, but to his beloved country, that this dying man turned his last thoughts.

But I am making my letter too long.

I am, dear sir, very respectfully your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

THE CONTRABANDS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

PORT ROYAL, S. C., Dec. 4.

FROM Braddock's Point, at the other end of the island, Fort Pulaski is only seven miles distant, and in full view. The three officers already mentioned (Col. Hawley, Dr. Bacon and Col. Ferry) visited the Stoddard plantation on Dafoshie Island opposite, which, like all the plantations in the vicinity, had been deserted. Mr. Stoddard is said to be a brother of the well-known Professor, whose Latin grammar, Andrews & Stoddard's, is the text-book of the schools. The plantation is one of those visited by the Rev. Dr. Southside Adams, and on which, among others, he found the patriarchal institution a school of Christian humanity—of the Adams pattern. The inconsiderate Stoddard, however, had left his flock exposed to the influences of the most terrible Abolitionist yet discovered—War, and several of these benighted Africans have already withdrawn themselves from the means of grace hitherto gratuitously supplied by field-drivers and overseers. In the house of Mr. Stoddard the party committed no other outrage than singing "Hail Columbia" and the "Star Spangled Banner" to the music of a fine piano. They took from the plantation mules, waggons, cattle, and what other things were wanted for the use and subsistence of the force at Braddock's. If any justification were needed for an act which the laws of war everywhere sanction, it may be found in a letter from Mr. Stoddard to his overseer, which was picked up on the place, directing him to supply the rebel Gen. Drayton with everything he needed.

With the usual Yankee readiness of adaptation to circumstances, the troops have busied themselves in carrying on the work of the Lawton plantation, on which they are quartered, so far as was necessary for their purposes, or to insure the comfortable subsistence of the negroes during the winter. The field hands were made to get in the standing crops, and to put matters in order generally, under direction of the driver or overseer, who regularly reported to Col. Ferry for instructions, and the place is now much the most comfortable on the island, whether for troops or negroes.

Many of the negroes in camp arrived at this point, and more are constantly coming. There is among them all the undoubting conviction that this is a war for their deliverance. No statement concerning them that I hear is so nearly universal as this, and Col. Hawley assures me that in numerous conversations he has not found an exception. "We've been a waitin' and a prayin' for you, Massa, day and night, and we praise the Lord that you are come and hab' your views"—that is, have been successful.

There is at the Point an old negro named Launace, by far the most interesting contraband of whom any account has yet been given me, but I have been able to gather only enough to excite rather than to gratify curiosity. He is more than 75 years old, came or was brought from St. Domingo, where he was free, and where, for six years, he served in what are called the revolutionary wars. He knew Toussaint, Christophe and Petion, and has many interesting stories of those men still fresh in his memory. When asked if he remembered Denmark Vesey, the name for a moment seemed to puzzle him, but instantly his face brightened and he answered "O, yes, massa, you mean *Wesey*. I knew him in Charleston, knew him very well"; and he went on to speak of the number of negroes who were murdered in consequence of the plot.

The evidences of inhuman treatment of the slaves by their masters and overseers are painfully abundant. I select one story, in which the names have the air of being adapted to the character of the man and the facts; but it comes from a source that leaves no chance for question or cavil. A number of negroes crossed over from Savage Island, whose master was Mr. Joseph Cruel. They were examined by Dr. Bacon, and certain deep scars, evidently of burns, on their backs, were discovered. Being questioned as to the origin of these, they said that as a means of punishment, their master was in the habit of dropping melted sealing-wax in a blaze on the bodies of his victims. Their description of him was too pungent in some respects to be quoted. "He was the meanest man God ever pitched into this world. He gin we no salt to our hominy, gin we no shoes, gin we no coat," etc.

The negro relish for all sorts of fun, their keen appreciation of the ludicrous side of every incident, and their love for music, and rude natural talent for it, are all more or less familiar. Their genius in improvisation was comically illustrated in the case of Capt. Cuthbert, a rebel officer, who came over in a boat, last week, with a number of his slaves, from St. Helena Island, and was taken on St. Phillips by a party of the 79th New York Highlanders, who are encamped at Bay Point. The delight of the negroes at their unexpected liberation was only equalled by their sense of the misfortune which had overtaken the captain, and finally found expression in the following lyrical refrain:

> "De Northmen dey's got massa now,
> De Northmen dey's got massa now,
> De Northmen dey's got massa now,
> Glory Hallelujah!"

Deeming the exuberant rapture of the disenthralled chattels an infringement of the courtesies of war, the officer in command finally checked the flow of this victorious pæan, but ever and anon their irrepressible delight broke forth in fragmentary vocalization. Indeed, it was only too plain that they, like so many others of their unreflecting brethren in bonds, were wholly insensible to the misfortunes which their change of condition had brought upon them—the loss of a master to care and provide for them—and himself—out of the proceeds of their labor, and the severing of the domestic relation between him and them, specially ordained as the means of their salvation.

Prayer-meetings are held by the contrabands in camp almost every night. The building in which they gather is often surrounded by a crowd of soldiers, listening to the quaint fervor of the devotions with silent and interested attention. From these soldiers you will hear no word of ridicule—nothing like mockery or contempt for the unlettered simplicity which fears not to ask ignorantly while it asks trustfully and truly. The men whose daily lives leave no hour unstained with oaths, and with the coarse brutality of speech which is worse than profanity, pass with clean lips and silent-wondering if not reverent thoughts from the religious assemblies of the negro, whom they have been taught to regard as cursed of God, despised of men, and destitute of social and political rights. Accepting the pro-slavery dogmas of commercial pulpits, and adopting the atheistic politics of an unprincipled party, what room was left them for religious faith or belief in humanity? Yet they cannot resist the feeling which this prayerful earnestness inspires, nor repel the conviction that they have been taught a lie.

Does any friend of Southside theology reply that only by means of slavery have these negroes been instructed in religious truth? Let him listen to that old man who is thanking God out of the depths of his soul that at last they can meet together for worship without fear or restraint—thanking God and us that he is permitted now to pray aloud! I beg the most hasty or unreflecting reader to consider for one moment all that such an expression of gratitude implies. That a slave was forbidden to read the Bible or anything else—at least to be taught to read—I had heard; but I confess it was with a wholly new emotion that I learned that the Southern answer to an audible prayer was the overseer's lash. Mr. Lee, whose humane benevolence makes him the best possible man for his difficult place, will tell you how often at first he has been timidly approached by some newly arrived negro, with the hesitating petition, "Please, Massa, may I pray?" With their childlike piety, also, mingles the broadest charity. Prayers for wives and children left behind, and for the soldiers who have come to fight for their freedom, are followed by prayers for the rebel masters from whom they have fled. In conversation nothing like an affectionate remembrance of their masters can be discovered—nor, on the other hand, is their spirit often vindictive. Only the religious element of character inspires such a petition, and the negro possesses both religious and affectional elements very largely developed.

Correspondence of The Times.

HILTON HEAD, PORT ROYAL, S. C.,
Thursday, Dec. 5, 1861.

I have to-day the opportunity of announcing perhaps the most important news that has been sent to the North from South Carolina since the fall of Sumter. I am not sure that even the capture of Port Royal was more of an event than the orders now issued to Col. Nobles, late of the New York Seventy-ninth (Highlanders) Regiment. *He is to pick, collect, pack and store all the cotton on the deserted plantations of this vicinity.* In this work he will be assisted by the negroes, who are to be paid for their services, on proper vouchers: the cotton is to be turned over for shipment on return vessels from this port, sent to the Deputy Quartermaster General at New York, and by him sold on public account.

The use of the negroes contemplated by this proceeding is quite as important as the mere fact of the picking and storing, or even the shipment of cotton. The crowded populations of the various plantations could hardly be expected to remain very long quiescent; they still come trooping in—not, indeed, within our lines, but far from the reach of their masters, daily; some have even reached here from Savannah and Charleston, though these are but straggling cases. But in all the vicinity now exists this anomalous condition of affairs: slaves neither free nor emancipated; working people with nothing to do, living on the abandoned estates of their former masters, and between two hostile forces. Of course, if we do not soon make some movement either to occupy or restrain them, they will become restive. By employing them at work with which they are familiar, and also paying them, this danger will be lessened if not obviated. Perhaps what occurs here and now may even suggest the solution of the mighty problem imposed on the National government—what to do with the entire slave population when it is deserted by its owners. As for emancipation, there is not the slightest need to declare that; the rebels do it themselves more effectually than ten thousand Fremont proclamations; they make known their own weakness and at the same time their own spite; they burn their cotton-houses; they refuse to stay beneath the protection of a power whose might they yet confess by their flight; they fire on their slaves, and otherwise endeavor, but in vain, to enforce them to accompany them; they establish patrols, which the blacks elude; and at last give up in despair, leaving the negroes, as well as their other property, subject to the ordinary rules of war, or to be fairly confiscated, as the punishment of unsuccessful treason. Just so rapidly as Federal armies advance on the soil of South Carolina, just so rapidly do the planters emancipate their slaves. They cannot blame us for using that they throw away. We have thus far scrupulously refrained from turning on them, except negatively, the tremendous weapon; but to neglect to avail ourselves of such a chance as now exists would be supreme folly. Is it, then, not possible to devise a plan whereby all this negro population, so fast as it falls into our hands during the war, shall be set to some work with which it is familiar—work which can be made lucrative to the government, and yet afford sufficient returns to pay the blacks? So the frightful possibilities of a slave insurrection might be avoided, and yet the rebels terribly shorn of a great element of their strength. After some of the results of Col. Nobles's initiatory enterprise have been perceived, it may prove worth while to discuss this aspect of the most important question ever presented to a nation or a government to decide.

The negroes, as yet, show few symptoms of vindictiveness; but in two instances they have assisted in the capture of their former masters. A Mr. Cuthbert, the owner of several large plantations on St. Helena Island and the main, was caught by Capt. Falconer, of the Seventy-ninth New York, with the assistance of his own negroes. A small reconnoitering party on the Coosaw River met a boat containing half a dozen blacks and one white man, a German; his boat was seized, the blacks interrogated; they belonged to Cuthbert, and were going to meet him at a neighboring point. Capt. Falconer took the place of the captured white man (whom he left in care of his troops), and ordered the negroes to row him back to their master. Another boat containing a squad of Union men followed at a short distance. It was nearly dusk, and as Falconer approached the place where Cuthbert stood, waiting his boat, the latter cried out, "Who comes there?" The negroes answered, and were recognized. Falconer at once jumped ashore with the blacks, and seized the rebel. A scuffle ensued, for the Southerner was armed, and a large, powerful man, and Falconer small. The negroes took no part (they had not yet gotten over their awe of a master), and not till the second boat arrived was Cuthbert secured. While he was rowed off a prisoner in his own boat, and by his own slaves, these burst out into singing, to the tune of one of their rude hymns, making the versicles as they went along:

> "O Massa a rebel, we row him to prison.
> Hallelujah.
> Massa no whip us any more.
> Hallelujah.
> We have no massa now; we free.
> Hallelujah.
> We have the Yankees, who no run away.
> Hallelujah.
> O! all our old massas run away.
> Hallelujah.
> O! massa going to prison now.
> Hallelujah."

Cuthbert, who had come to the island for the sake of preventing the escape of his slaves, was a lieutenant of the beat—a patrol established for the sake of protecting the coast at once against the Nationalists and the negroes. He had, in conversation with Capt. Falconer, scrupulously maintained that the negroes loved their masters, and wanted no freedom; but when these exulting chants were sung in his hearing, he acknowledged that so long as the Union forces remained, the South Carolinians were in danger from their slaves. He has been sent North, a prisoner.

The other instance of a capture was still more unmistakably the work of a slave. The owner was in his boat, with a black crew, taking them off the shore; the Union men were concealed from him by the trees; one of his own negroes ran up on the beach as the boat pushed off, and asked to be taken aboard; while the master returned to receive him, he signaled to the Unionists, and the "massa" was soon a prisoner. So much for the fidelity of the slaves. Body servants of kind masters are as ready as any others to betray. I have been talking to-night with an extremely intelligent one, the body slave of Mr. Coffin, a very large proprietor in the neighborhood of Otter Point. Indeed, up to within a mile of Gov. Aiken's famous plantation (the largest in the State) all the slaves of every description seem to be affected with the dangerous desire for liberty. The Governor has fifteen hundred head, thus far restrained; but slaves cannot be burned as readily as cotton, when the Yankees approach; and yet they seem almost as inflammable.

THE SLAVE TRADE.—The vigor with which the United States Marshals and District Attorneys now ferret out and arraign parties engaged in slave-trading operations is in striking contrast with the laxity, if it deserves no harsher name, of officials under some former Administrations. This is a matter wherein private citizens can often render effective service. The influence of right-minded men, who will bestow some thought and attention on the subject, may often greatly aid the public officers. Circumstances sufficient to excite reasonable suspicion, if communicated promptly to the District Attorney or Marshal, may enable those officers to render themselves, even more than they are now, a terror to evil-doers in these "blackbirding" operations.—*World.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1861.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK.'

THEODORE TILTON, of the editorial staff of *The Independent*, will deliver a Lecture on THE LATEST QUESTIONS OF THE WAR, in the Cooper Institute, on THURSDAY EVENING, Dec. 26th. Tickets, 25 cents, for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 5 Beekman street.

THE WAR—NEWS FROM ENGLAND.

THE sensation of the week has been the news from England. Even the conflagration of Charleston seems to have been put out by the possibility of a worse one bursting forth in the shape of a war with England. The news which had been anxiously awaited as to the way in which the arrest of Messrs. Mason and Slidell would be taken in that country arrived on Sunday, and at the first glance seemed to be as bad as could be. England was all on fire with indignation, the law advisers of the Crown were clear that the arrest was contrary to the law of Nations, the Cabinet had despatched an *ultimatum* to the Washington government, demanding an apology and the release of the prisoners. These rumors answered well the purpose of the sensation newspapers, and the newsboys reaped a harvest from that sowing. With their characteristic agility our volatile public leaped to the conclusion that war was inevitable, and at hand. We do not deny that it may be so; but we cannot admit that the news brought by the Europa is conclusive of the fact. We are not yet ready to believe that the British government will think such a measure unavoidable or likely to be beneficial to England.

We must remember that the Europa sailed at the very height of the ebullition of popular passion, which the *ex parte* statement of the Captain of the Trent was intended to produce. We do not yet know what were the discussions of the Cabinet, in temper and as to policy, nor the nature of the despatches sent to Lord Lyons. What we know is, the newspaper outcry and the random talk of the Clubs and the streets. Of course, if it be the deliberate wish and design of the great body of the English nation to make this a fighting matter, the government must yield to it. But there is no proof yet that such is the calm, well-reasoned, or even the irresistibly unreasonable public sentiment of the kingdom. It may grow up to it, but we do not think that that day or two's excitement is proof that it has reached the stature of warfare, just yet. That it did not express the exact feelings of the men in power we think may be inferred from the slight change which it produced in the *polemometers*—if we may invent a word—or war-guages, of the Stock market and the Flour market. The slight changes, scarcely observable, in these most sensitive of tests of public feeling, we think can only be accounted for by intimations from high quarters that the real danger was not then imminent. There is no instinct so instructive as that of the Stock markets of Europe. They smell a battle further off than a war-horse, and respond to the slightest rumor that is indicative of real danger to the peace of great nations. Whether this remarkable equanimity in the market for national securities, and the not less observable one, in the present condition of England, in that for bread-stuffs, were produced by intimations from high quarters, or merely the result of the sagacity of operators, we may equally well draw the inference that the real danger is not in proportion to the outcry.

The whole question depends upon whether England wants a quarrel with us or not. If she do, this occasion will be made an amply sufficient one, supposing that our government maintain the ground that it has taken, in common with Congress and the nation. If, on the other hand, she does not wish to be embroiled with us, there are plenty of ways of escape for her. The point of honor is surely one of the very least that was ever raised, viz., that the humane and merciful release of the Trent by Captain Wilkes makes the quarrel deadly, which would have been venial if he had sent her in for trial and condemnation as a prize! Had he taken thirty thousand pounds worth of property from the owners and divided it with his crew, as he might have done, he would have had a tenable case by the laws of nations, but having had the good nature to waive his rights and let the offending craft go its way, the offence becomes a mortal one! There have been many wars on slight punctilios, on differences as to the north and north-west side of a hair, but never on so infinitesimal a one as this. No nation would go to war on such an issue, unless it were waiting and watching for an occasion of quarrel. We cannot think that the English government can be so desirous of fighting us, as the seizing upon this pettifogging distinction, not without a difference, but one of making the lesser act worse than the greater, would prove. That there will be much diplomacy and negotiation and protocolizing, is a matter of course; but that war will come out of it, we cannot yet believe. The cutting-out of the Caroline by Col. McNab from one of our harbors in time of peace, who was knighted and not censured for the act, was a much stronger provocation of war on our side, and our arrest and trial of Macleod, for murdering a man killed in the engagement, a much stronger one on that of England than this one. We did not fight then because it was not worth while at the time. Is there anything in the present state of affairs to make it worth while to either party, now?

The idea that we have any disposition to provoke a quarrel is one of the wildest dreams of the penny-a-liner. Even the blundering of Mr. Seward—and his gift at making a botch of what he undertakes cannot be gainsaid—can hardly reach to that point of absurdity, and, if it could, would surely be checked in its flight by the common sense of Mr. Lincoln. As we said last week, a war with England is *a possibility*, now, which it was not under the dynasty of the slave-drivers; but it is the remotest of probabilities, as a matter of our own seeking. The only object England has to gain is the opening of the Southern ports for the exportation of cotton. Whether this object, supposing it to be gained in its fullest extent, would be worth the loss of Northern trade and Northern bread-stuffs, together with the injury sure to be inflicted on her own commerce by our privateers, is a question which, we may be sure, will be most seriously weighed before a warlike policy is adopted towards us. But this is supposing an impossible case. The derangement in the productive energies of the cotton country, consequent upon our war, must greatly diminish the crops as long as the war lasts, while a quarrel with us would utterly cut off her supplies from us of corn and flour. The effect of such a measure would be to unite all the North as one man in all measures necessary to hinder England from having the price of her interference. And foremost among these would be the emancipation of the slaves wherever our armies appeared, and an invitation to all, everywhere, to seek our protection and to destroy the fatal plants from which are spun their bonds. The ashes of Charleston, and the insurrections of which we hear in the interior, stimulated only by uncertain and ungrounded reports of our friendly purpose towards them, speak of what might be looked for from a policy openly and specifically for the relief of the slaves. As to our own preparation for such a conflict, we are sure that it was never so good. We have everything we need within ourselves that is necessary for the support of life, and almost everything requisite for its superfluities. We have twice as many men in arms as England ever had at any one time, and they are fast gaining the experience and discipline they need to make them a match for the veterans of Europe. That great injury can be inflicted upon us by England we painfully feel. But we are very confident that the harm we should do her would be more by many fold. And most earnestly do we trust that this plague may be averted from both countries.

Should such a calamity befall us, there are no persons who would deplore more sincerely than the American Abolitionists the downfall of England from the proud position she has occupied for near thirty years, in relation to the slave trade and slavery. To see the countrymen of Clarkson, Wilberforce, Macaulay and Granville Sharpe entering into an alliance with the basest of slave-drivers for a share of their plunder of the poor, were indeed a sorry sight, and one, we trust, it is not left for us to see. We admit that our own Northern countrymen, and ourselves by implication, have all along been guilty of all this and more; but we had for years humbly turned our eyes to England as the Mecca of our anti-slavery faith. We still believe that the solid sense of the middle class there will be true to freedom and duty, and prevent a war for the preservation of slavery under a thin pretext of wounded honor. But should the worst come, we are firm in the faith that it will redound to the deliverance of the slave and not to his eternal captivity. The one imagination, in case of an English war, would be how to hinder England from reaping the fruits of her new alliance. To make the cotton country uneasy, to diminish the production as much as possible, as well as to hinder its transportation and shipment, would be the first belligerent duty. And to do this, the opening of cities of refuge for the slaves wherever the National flag may fly, the dissemination of discontents among them by the widest proclamation of this state of things, the depriving their masters of their services, wherever practicable, if not the putting arms into their hands, would become the universal policy of the nation. The sneaking Northern secessionists, disguised as Unionists, who are playing the game of their Southern masters, would be squelched into annihilation, and Emancipation recognized as the one paramount end of the war. We do not wish that the evil may be done that this good may come of it, but we are confident that they are bound together by the links of a Divine logic.

A WORD FROM PARKER PILLSBURY.

[Extract of a private letter to the Editor.]

BOSTON, Dec. 16.

WE had a most triumphant meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society yesterday at Lynn. Garrison never spoke better. Remond, too, seemed to have caught the spirit of the hour, and was, at times, almost sublime.

And we had a most excellent audience, too—the best, as it seemed to me, we ever had in that town. The Petition to Congress is getting an immense length of signatures. Almost everybody seems ready and desirous to sign it. I have always regretted the *compensation clause* in it, and have much hesitancy about urging people to sign it. Indeed, I do not, until I have testified against that part of it. For I do not know that "loyal slaveholders" have any better right to hold my wife or daughter in brutality and slave degradation, and to perpetuate the abomination, unless paid for their virtue, than rebel slaveholders.

One only course seems entirely open to me; and that is, to demand, in the unequivocal spirit of Moses, "*Let my people go*"; or, like him of later time, "*Let the oppressed go FREE.*" And all the talk about "loyal slaveholders," and "contrabands," and "compensation," and "military necessity" (meanest of all motives) tends to put the great divine issue, the sin and crime, the guilt and desert of slaveholders and their abettors, wholly out of the account.

We must abolish slavery by abolishing the spirit of slavery in the heart of our sin-hardened nation. Repentance short of that will only have to be "repented of," and the work done over and over again, until there is full surrender to the claims of the Divine government.

DR. OSGOOD'S SERMON.—We published, in our last number, a brief outline of Dr. Osgood's Thanksgiving Sermon, which was drawn up from recollection, and not from the notes. As we have been asked to explain one of the points of the report, we need only say that the sermon is in press, and will speak for itself. The sermon did not charge immediate emancipationists, as such, with trying to kindle a murderous servile war, nor did the report do this. What views Dr. Osgood holds of the anti-slavery movement in its leading representations, will be seen from a sermon of his just published in the "Spirit of the Pulpit," page 71, from which we shall quote a passage.—*Christian Inquirer, 14th.*

This, it seems to us, is not quite ingenuous. If *The Inquirer* had published the brief remonstrance against the imputation conveyed in its report of Dr. Osgood's sermon—as we think it ought in all fairness to have done—its readers, instead of being merely puzzled, would have been able to see the point and form an intelligent judgment in the case. What Dr. Osgood said in his *sermon* we do not know, but *The Inquirer's report* contained this sentence:

"Positive anti-slavery ground was taken; yet no favor was shown to *those who would proclaim universal emancipation at once, and try to kindle a murderous servile war.*"

If *The Inquirer*, instead of making an unintelligible allusion to the letter of its correspondent, had recited its own words as above, its readers, we think, would have been astonished not a little by its remark that "the *report* did *not* charge immediate emancipationists, as such, with trying to kindle a murderous servile war." If the sentence quoted above, as descriptive of Dr. Osgood's position, does not contain the charge in question, we can conceive of no form of words in which it *could* be conveyed. If the sentence misrepresents the sermon, that is another matter, and one for which Dr. Osgood himself is probably responsible; for we do not believe that the report was from any other than his own pen. The sermon, after passing through the press, may or may not stand as in the delivery.

Dr. Osgood's "*views* of the anti-slavery movement in its leading representations" [representatives?] have no special interest for us; it is only when his slurs take the form of specific misrepresentation that they become worthy of notice. Ministers who, for the sake of salary and worldly position, have for years presented the gospel in forms so diluted as not to give offence to wealthy parishioners engaged in the conspiracy to extend and perpetuate slavery, are not likely to think well of the Abolitionists, or to have "views of the anti-slavery movement" worthy the attention of earnest men. The slave can expect no favors at the hands of such ministers until his cause becomes popular. But is it too much to insist that even they shall refrain from gross misrepresentation of the slave's friends?

THE THANKSGIVING SERMON of Rev. Samuel J. May, published in *The State League* of Syracuse, is characteristic of the man who preached it—not only fully up with the times, but in wise advance beyond them—taking the highest ground in favor of absolute justice and liberty—telling the truth, without concealment and without compromise—looking the worse full in the face, yet always finding hope written on its forehead—having a heart big enough to furnish a whole Synod of Old School divines—graceful yet vigorous in style, just mild enough to be fanatical, severe always without bitterness, and eloquent always without effort.

REV. JACOB M. MANNING, junior pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, occupied Dr. Cheever's pulpit on Sunday last. His discourse in the evening upon "The Responsibility of the People for the Character of the Government" gave great satisfaction to a very intelligent and numerous audience. It was strong in argument, apt in illustration, pertinent as well as pungent in allusions to current events, and alike elevated and progressive in the principles sought to be enforced. It would be quite impossible for any one whose moral sensibilities are not greatly impaired to sleep under Mr. Manning's preaching.

PAPERS RELATING TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—We have received from the State Department a copy of the Correspondence that has taken place between the United States and Foreign Governments since the breaking out of the Rebellion, and which was recently communicated to Congress by the President. We are indebted for this favor, we presume, to our highly esteemed friend George E. Baker, Esq., late of Albany.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 15th.

THERE were some typographical and other errors in my last, as it appeared in your paper, which I accept as a just punishment of my bad handwriting. A vicious chirography, when permitted to become a habit, is absolutely incurable. Let the young beware, in this matter, if they would avoid life-long mortification.

We have had a number of lectures delivered in this city lately, of which, by rights, you should have had some account; but the time is passed now for anything more than an allusion to them. The most noteworthy of the series, perhaps, was that of Senator Sumner on the "Origin of the Rebellion." Your publication of it entire, for which your readers will all have thanked you, supersedes any necessity that might otherwise have existed of giving a description of its character. As you will have noticed, it was faultless in style, lofty in moral tone, exhaustive in its scope, and in everyway up to the demands of the hour. Its eloquence was only exceeded by the thrilling enthusiasm of those who listened to it. The vast hall in which it was delivered was crowded to literal repletion, and the most radical utterances of the speaker were the ones which drew forth the most rapturous applause. It was refreshing to notice the waving of handkerchiefs and other signs of approval from people who, a little while ago, were the bitter opponents of abolitionism.

Geo. W. Curtis, Esq., followed Mr. Sumner, in a week or two after, with another speech of great beauty and eloquence, on the same subject. Two years ago, when Mr. Curtis lectured here, it required the whole available police force of the city to protect him from the mob; and last year, the Mayor (to his lasting discredit be it said) refused to let him speak at all, for fear of a recurrence of the same trouble. Now his coming was hailed with general satisfaction; and his address was not only well received, but its most obnoxious heresies were "applauded to the echo which doth applaud again." The only criticism his hearers had to offer was, that he did not go far enough, and that his demands were not sufficiently exacting.

Dr. Chapin and Henry Ward Beecher have also delivered lectures here, but it was not my fortune to hear them. It is said that neither of these eloquent gentlemen has drawn the houses nor produced the enthusiasm which have been wont to distinguish their lectures in former seasons. "Conservatism" is not a paying quality in times like these, and the popular favorite, who would keep up his reputation, must either take the lead of public opinion or be found following very close in its wake.

Last, but not least, among the noteworthy addresses delivered this season was one from a black man—the Rev. Alexander Crummell—a gentleman heretofore unknown to fame in this line of distinction. Mr. Crummell is a minister and missionary of the Episcopal Church, and has been laboring in his vocation for the last five years on the coast of Africa. He is a native of this country and was educated in part at the Oneida Institute, under the auspices of Beriah Green. He afterwards—about ten years ago—took up his residence in this city, and spent a year or two with us as a school teacher. He had taken orders in the Episcopal Church, and occasionally, while here, officiated as a clergyman. From this city he went to England, and there, at the University of Cambridge, pursued a further course of study. His health failed him, and he was advised to move to a warmer climate. He chose Africa, the land of his forefathers, as the place most likely to suit him, and there, in Monrovia, the chief town in the colony of Liberia, he has been living ever since. He returns now temporarily to testify to the advantages to be derived, especially by persons of African descent, from a residence in that country, to the improvement which the condition of the people there, native and emigrant, has of late been undergoing, and the bright prospects of regeneration which are at last dawning upon that unhappy continent. Statements to this effect constituted the burden of the discourse I have been alluding to. They were exceedingly interesting, and the address in all its parts was deeply impressive. It was delivered in the Church of the *Epiphany*. The speaker was assisted on the occasion by Rev. Thomas Garnall, who read the service, Rev. Mr. Cracroft, the Rector of the Church, who had invited him to speak, and by whom he was introduced to the meeting, and Rev. Wm. Douglass, the Rector of the African Church of St. Thomas, who sat beside him. The audience was large, the attention profound, and the satisfaction universal.

When it is remembered that the *Epiphany* is the Church from which Dudley Tyng was driven by the Peirce Butlers and Dr. Morris's and others of like ilk; and when it is borne in mind that in the very chancel from which this black man now discoursed so acceptably, stood, but a few months ago, the South Carolina *secessionist* and slaveholder, Rev. Otis Prentiss, who had been substituted for the banished Mr. Tyng, it will be conceded that the change which public opinion has undergone in this city is truly extraordinary.

I expressed a sentiment incidentally, a paragraph or two back, in regard to Mayor Henry, which I should have omitted if that gentleman and his friends had been disposed to let by-gones be by-gones. Mr. Henry is a good Mayor. He has discharged his duty with commendable fidelity, and his administration reflects credit upon the city. The eulogy upon his course, contained in a long article upon our police-system which appeared in a late paper, was in general well merited. But the attempt in that article to make the suppression of Curtis's lecture a crowning merit of the Mayor's course was preposterous in the extreme. It only revives the memory of what, for the Mayor's fame, had better be forgotten. The behavior of Alexander Henry, as municipal head of this city, on the 13th of December last year, *was inexcusably weak and criminally foolish.* If he or his friends have not the virtue to condemn and regret it, let them at least have the decency to keep quiet about it.

The aspect of the war has undergone no material change since I last wrote you. We have news to-day of an extensive conflagration in Charleston, supposed, and with probable correctness, to have been the work of a black incendiary. It is about time for this element in the controversy to begin to manifest itself. When the black people of the far South see our armies approach with signs of friendly intent, we may look for corresponding demonstrations on their part. They will, of course, begin insidiously. The torch is the natural resort of the weak when oppressed. One act of incendiarism begets another. Suspicion and barbarous punishment will be the consequence. Bolder acts in retaliation will ensue. Encouraged by the presence of the Federal armies, secret hate will break out into open vindictiveness, and then will come the chapter of horrors which, from the beginning, has been seen to be inevitable. The heart sickens at the thought; but the slaveholders would have it so. The Abolitionists have been laboring for thirty years to save them from this day; but their efforts have been unavailing. On their own heads be the consequences.

M.

P. S.—I spoke unadvisedly when I said that the "aspects of the war had undergone no change." Here comes the Europa, with advices which add fresh complications to our trouble. We are now threatened with a war with England. If the general temper of the people of that country should prove to be in keeping with the belligerent tone of the London press, then such a war would appear to be a thing not to be avoided. On the other hand, if the disposition toward our slaveholding States, of the people who control the policy of that country, should be such as to make a war with us a logical necessity; then—deplorable, unutterably deplorable as it would be, it is a thing not to be dreaded. There is a great controversy now going on in the world between Slavery and Freedom. This country is at present its chief theatre. This nation—that is, the people who control its policy—are on the side of Freedom. They must hold their position at every cost and against all comers. We had counted upon, and do yet hope for, the support of England in this controversy. If disappointed, we must act without her; and, even if she so elect, against her. The voice of the good in England—the people who love justice better than all other things—has not yet been heard. Until they shall have had time and opportunity to speak, the upshot of the present imbroglio cannot be foreseen.

The question between the two governments is one susceptible of an easy adjustment, if the temper of the parties interpose no obstacle. A comparison of notes, on the part of those whose duty it is, will bring out all the facts in the case; if these should fail to put—of their own force—a satisfactory turn to the controversy, let the matter be referred to an umpire whose decision shall be final. In the capture of the rebel commissioners, from a British ship, we were either right or wrong. If wrong, our duty is proper reparation at any cost; if right, there should be an end to all demands upon us. I will not anticipate a war with England. It is impossible that a country which has settled so many questions with us of national honor and international law, should avail herself of our distress to appeal in this case to the sword.

Our Boston Correspondence.

FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.

THE SUMMARY.—The Lesson of the Day taught in many Dialects—Woman's *argumentum ad hominem*—The War as a Purifier—The Wise Men of the East—Madame de la Sablières quoted—Our distinguished guests—Mr. Waterston's Lectures—The Boston edition of *In Memoriam*—THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD—Why it should be supported—Patriarchs in their pecuniary relations—The Newspaper as a Commercial Speculation—The Conclusion of the whole matter.

BOSTON, Dec. 9, 1861.

THE war is a good teacher, even when it does not seem to be giving the direct instruction in which you are most interested. A certain abnegation of merely personal responsibilities, a partial merging of prosperous domestic selfishness in a public idea—these are the grammar-lessons by which that immortal Declaration of our fathers may at length be read aright. I look upon the effective and recognized part taken by women in the public work of these times as an experience of the highest importance. They have not only given absorbing attention and patient labor, but have shown much executive ability in arranging complicated systems of charitable action. I could give you many instances of their nice tact and calm judgment in matters that in common times would be assumed beyond "the sphere" of the ideal woman of selfish or ignorant men. It is an advantage of no doubtful significance that they have the opportunity of enlarged and important usefulness, without losing the feminine picturesqueness which prejudice assigns to their wholly dependent relations. One welcomes any silent argument of facts bearing upon a question, which, in the present state of public sentiment, suffers more than any other from over-declamation. The proper sphere of woman is undoubtedly the largest which, under a just equality with man, she is able to attain. But practical demonstration seems almost the only power that can successfully cope with the tenacity of human prejudice upon this subject. In lieu, then, of any new anti-slavery awakening to report upon, I submit the facts abovementioned for your grateful consideration: they hasten the time when it shall be seen that those truths, declared "self-evident" by the founders of this Republic, cannot limit the right of citizenship to color or sex.

And beside, if we do not seem to advance in any specific direction from week to week, it is only necessary to look back a year to see how the war has freshened up the life of this Boston community. As it is well for a horse to feel his oats, so it is good for a New Englander to feel his moralities. And by the exaltation of the general sentiment some pretty stiff Puritan virtues, lately trampled into highways or cast into obscure places, have been joggled up to the front. A year or two ago there were many young men of good capacity, who seemed unable to connect themselves heartily with any activity of the regulation patterns. They could neither be engrossed by the respectable prizes of business energy, nor were they quite able to substitute the isolation of individual thought, and the pulling up stream that it might necessitate. A tendency to the dyspeptic theory of existence had begun to be perceptible in the best half of the College classes. But when society, with some trouble on its hands, met such men half way, they turned into heroes of no doubtful efficiency. And this opportunity of public heroism was, if I mistake not, just what was wanted to educate many of them to the higher heroism which is of a purely private sort. In particular instances a thorough change of opinion is already manifest. I lately talked with one of our best known Massachusetts Colonels who went to the Potomac a staunch Anti-Republican, and returns to air sentiments that no paper save *The Liberator* would choose to print. But apart from this decided change of conviction in exceptional cases, the impulse to higher business than bargaining, that we have all received from the war, must leave a permanent determination of character of good promise for the future.

I could give you some conversational mutterings of more or less significance, were you not likly to get the purified residue by a later telegraph. It is a curious fact that most orphic utterances of a distressing character can generally be traced to retired scholars. When merchants and lawyers, who would be first to feel any threatened change in the political atmosphere, are in cheerful condition, some Friend of the Humanities is sure to have visions as full of mysterious disaster as those that visited the prophet Daniel. It is certainly rather hard that salaried men, who would be the last to suffer from real embarrassment, should have this Cassandra-monopoly. But with sincere respect for the various Professors of Arts and Sciences in and about Boston, and with a cordial recognition of the value of their influence upon our else ruder manners, it must be confessed that their political vaticinations have ever been singularly erratic. In our days Knowledge is too large for any Admirable Chrichtonism; and one should perhaps be satisfied with the very intelligent talk upon questions of ancient erudition or modern discovery to be heard among them. The signs of the zodiac and the policy of Pericles are certain to receive first-class treatment; but the signs of the times and the position of Charles Sumner——well, my advice is to keep off such subjects, lest you be reminded of what a witty Frenchwoman once said to La Fontaine, *En vérité, mon cher, vous seriez bien bête, si vous naviez pas tant d'esprit!*

In the way of social events, we have lately received visits from Bakounine, a Russian of distinguished character, and from Mr. Anthony Trollope, an English novelist of some repute. The former, as you may read in an interesting article about him in Appleton's Cyclopædia, was supposed to have died in the prison of Schlusselburg—nevertheless, after many surprising adventures, including an escape from Siberia, he has again appeared among men. For years he has devoted his energies to shaking the despotisms of Europe. The fatal outbreak in Dresden, in 1849, was chiefly combined and executed by him. He goes immediately to England to wait for another opportunity of serving humanity according to his conscience—altogether a remarkable and most accomplished man. Mr. Trollope's novels I have never read; but he himself has much cleverness of the British sort, and will, it is to be hoped, put us into print more acceptably than old associations with his name might seem to promise. Then, as a sort of semi-social entertainment, there have been two of Mr. Waterston's Lowell Lectures. These are copiously illustrated by specimens from his rare collections of objects of beauty and interest. We certainly want that general direction in taste which the lecturer is well able to furnish. There is (or was before the war) a great deal of empty talk about Art, and kindred generalities. The Americans who overran Europe brought back bushels of ugly mediæval relics manufactured for the market, and "Old Masters" in the last stages of feebleness and decrepitude. Such "Works of Art" did very well to gratify the old sense of value; but they were far from creating any new sense of beauty. A genuine enjoyment of Art may be the cheapest and most popular of pleasures; and Mr. Waterston is admirably qualified to tell people how to make it so.

Let me call your attention to an exquisite specimen of Christmas typography just issued in this city. Messrs. Ticknor and Fields, the American publishers of Tennyson, have brought out an edition of his "In Memoriam," which calls for new compliments to the well-known royalties of paper and printing-ink. Does it not seem a good sign in these war times that Tennyson's poetic glimpses into the higher regions of philosophy and science are not undemanded by the same public who seek at street corners the extra newspaper, and are eager to applaud the physical endurance of those battling with incarnate evil? It is by no means as an exceptional expression of a sorrow exceptionally acute that "In Memoriam" has taken the high position it occupies in the literature of the century. It is because it holds in solution a profound human experience which most men, not utterly thoughtless or uninstructed, must in some measure have known. To sensitive natures a great sorrow or misfortune has often seemed to result in moral corruption. It is painful to recall this perversion of personal grief by men of imaginative ability. For the poetry of doubt, misanthropy, and even of Byronic vice, has a certain fascination which it is impossible to dispute. But it is the glory of Tennyson to have shown an instruction and beauty in Sorrow, at which Harold and Werter feebly hinted; and then, by noble half-lights flashed above it, to have displayed a blessedness which such melodramatic gentlemen were powerless to discern. I do not forget that the absence of spiritual repose in this poem has been mistaken by a few small critics for an unhealthy scepticism. But how was it possible that the conflict of feeling and opinion on religious subjects, which for the last three centuries has been the normal state of the highest civilization, should leave no impress upon so representative a poet? If intensity of unquestioning conviction were the best evidence of any proposition it chose to assert, Joe Smith might have had the advantage of Dr. Channing, and the dirtiest Dervish of the East could hold an ethical professorship for the instruction of Babbage and Martineau. The suggestive hints of Tennyson come from a man who will not ignore the essential difficulties of subjects he strives to enlighten. He has served out a poet's full sentence upon the metaphysical treadmill, and his *hope*, when he has escaped from it, is better testimony than what one of narrower experience might mistake for knowledge. A most interesting study is "In Memoriam" to those who would understand the higher powers of language. People who are troubled with "unutterable thoughts" will do well to mark how flexible and adaptive is Worcester's Dictionary how clearly it can take the impression of the lightest shade of feeling. But far above the world of emotion, this poem contains generalizations which represent the clearest speculation and most exact study of the day. Indeed, if the literature of the century were to be destroyed, there is probably no production of the same length from which the sum of its characteristics and tendencies could be more nearly reproduced. But upon this theme my pen has run faster than I intended. I only meant to emphasize the beautiful form in which "In Memoriam" is at present issued. There can be nothing better for a holiday gift, for it will be as good fifty years hence as it is to-day.

I am tempted here to write such thoughts as occur to me concerning THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, and the duty of generously sustaining such an organ. About this time of year, I believe it is the fashion for metropolitan journals to propose premiums for new subscribers, under the title of "EXTRAORDINARY INDUCEMENTS," or some such flourish of capitals. Though you may not have laid in a store of embossed Bibles or purchased a bankrupt stock of jewelry, wherewith to recompense those who sustain THE STANDARD, I am confident that the conventional heading (should you choose to adopt it) would be equally significant to intelligent people. At present you have a right to apply to a far larger community than that which has hitherto accepted the position of Abolitionists. Whether the logic necessary for the belief formerly advocated in THE STANDARD is admitted or not, there is no doubt that much of the culture, intellect, and even wealth of the country is in agreement with it to-day. If men have not yet learned to abhor slavery as a moral evil, they are well nigh persuaded that it is an economical mistake. The benignant and Scriptural trafficker in humanity turns out to be decidedly expensive as a model Democrat. Those four hundred thousand missionaries for the conversion of the heathen might be as dear as ever to the pulpit, but the pews cannot afford the ecclesiastical salvation of the negro at the present prices of that elegant luxury. The curse of Canaan may still be the purest gem of theology; but, instead of the old *Credo*, there runs responsive a commercial grumble, "*Peacebreakers are not purchasers, and Patriarchs don't pay!*" In this state of things the Abolitionists have an equitable claim upon large bodies of men, in view of the pertinent facts they have collected, and the arduous testimony they have borne. Yet their right to consideration may be urged upon even broader grounds. We might entirely ignore any question of slavery, and say that all patriotic and thinking men must have learned the importance of sustaining a high and honest *Individuality* amid the shifting expediencies which have marked our history. Every now and then laments (more or less to the purpose) are heard over the great multiplication of newspapers, and the habits of personal thought or serious study that they discourage. And, indeed, a good deal might be said on the quality of modern character caused by the diffusive and indolent reading of insincere writing. The deluge of plausible literature, while enormously increasing the number of those who read to relieve vacancy, does not proportionally increase the number who are able to detect a fallacy or penetrate a principle. "In America," writes M. de Tocqueville, "faith in public opinion becomes a species of religion, and the majority is its prophet." And it requires but little observation to appreciate the warning of that eminent critic, when he declares that the great danger of our Democracy is not of too great liberty, but of too ready submission—not of anarchy, but of servility. And in this direction the wisest men of the time have seen the real peril of modern society. The noble essay on Liberty, published a year or two years ago, by John Stewart Mill, contains forebodings even more applicable to America than to England. "Individuals," he says, "once conquered society; now society has conquered individuals; and large masses of people are growing up incapable of strong wishes or native pleasures, and generally without feelings." You may think this somewhat exaggerated testimony; but it is wholesome in so far as it declares Individuality to be a most important element of general well-being, and suggests the duty of its direct encouragement. If we would not have the former days better than these, we must contrive to mitigate the evils of a transition state which will ultimately advantage mankind. Does not a man exert his *private* influence to the best purpose by maintaining an independence of character that resists the absorption of party and sect? And can be exert a *general* influence more potent than by enabling some journal to occupy a similar position among the newspapers? For intelligent Americans, one of the first means of usefulness is to sustain some journal whose opinions have no connection with the subscription list, and whose utterances do not necessarily represent the average timidities of Wealth on the day before publication.

And from these and other considerations it is fitting that THE STANDARD should be enabled, not only to hold a long-established position, but to enlarge its resources and increase its circulation. For eighteen years it has boldly rebuked that fanatical tendency of the general mind, which is ever ready to cherish the superfluous mythology of State or Church, at the expense of the central doctrine round which it gradually clustered. It has maintained that what was unassailable in theory must be right in practice; that morals should not be degraded to a mere utilitarian agency; and that the uprightness of a nation's character was more than the alleged exigencies of its trade. It is a noble fact that, according to their limits, your columns have not only been open to any pertinent criticism upon the position of Abolitionists, but have copied, often without comment, the ablest and most effective attacks of those who opposed them. How different is the *Populus vult decipi* policy of "influential journals," no one need be reminded.

Finally, the newspaper, as a commercial speculation, must be written in the fear of the public—not in the fear of God. But sustained by philanthropic men as an independent moral agent, any journal, written with ability, knowledge and honesty, must do a noble work for religion and civilization. And, in the present perils and uncertainties of our national life, you have a right to call upon all good men to support such an organ in THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD. There are fearful responsibilities in the time to come which only folly can ignore. But there are also glorious materials in the ruins of our past history, which may be combined into a more worthy temple to the honor of God and the freedom of Man.

* * X.

CASH BETTER THAN LASH.—*The Times* states that the contrabands at Fortress Monroe, under Gen. Wool's system of *cash* instead of *lash* as a motive, "have paid for their own support, saved very large sums to the government, and accumulated a fund of over $3,000 in the Quartermaster's hands." Does not this fact furnish a satisfactory and conclusive answer to the question, so often repeated, "What would you do with the slaves?"

JOHN STANTON GOULD will deliver a free lecture on Crime and its Causes, at Friends' meeting-house in 20th street, on Monday evening next. Mr. Gould has paid much attention to the subject on which he proposes to speak, and we feel sure that his lecture will be worth hearing.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16, 1861.

THE anti-slavery contest goes steadily onward in Congress. If Gen. McClellan does nothing in the field, the anti-slavery members of Congress are not idle in the National Legislature. It is possible that it is true, as many persons have charged, that a debate on the question which so deeply interests the country is not wise at present, till some practical measure is to be voted upon; but that it is about time for Congress to assert itself in reference to some of the questions agitating the country none can deny. There was the subject of the exchange of prisoners. No one cried out that Congress was interfering with the business of Gen. McClellan and the Commander-in-Chief, Lincoln, because it considered a resolution asking the government to consent as speedily as possible to such an exchange, and finally passed it. Yet here was really an implied censure of the government for its failure to initiate some measure for an exchange of prisoners. But when the slavery question is touched, a hundred men instantly cry out, "Congress should not attempt to manage the war—let the President and Gen. McClellan attend to these matters!" But Congress means to have its voice in reference to the purposes of the war, and will not be deterred therefrom by the cry of pro-slavery politicians. But let not the friends of anti-slavery be deceived by any vote already taken in Congress upon anti-slavery resolutions offered; nor should they imagine that it is, *necessarily*, the wisest course to press resolutions of this character before Congress at this time. Every attempt of this kind which has yet been made has proved a failure, and the fact that the House of Representatives laid the very proper resolution offered by Mr. Lovejoy on the table has been quoted in very influential circles to prove that a majority of the Congress is "conservative" on the slavery question. But this and other votes prove no such thing. Wait, and notice the vote of the House on any practical measure which shall be presented—see what the vote will be on Bingham's Confiscation bill. This will be a test question, and not any vote which has yet been taken on a resolution.

Whether Congress will take steps toward the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia at this session is doubtful. Resolutions looking to such a result have been offered in both branches of Congress as well as in the city Common Council. But there is a very strong feeling among a large class of Republicans against doing anything which may have the appearance of haste, which may look like legislation for a divided instead of a united country—this is their language—and it will probably prevent any action for some time upon the subject. A bill, confiscating all the property of rebels, and emancipating their slaves, will certainly pass the present Congress, and Mr. Lincoln will scarcely venture to veto it, especially as it will command a two-thirds vote of both branches. This is as far as the present Congress will go till further developments at the South. The most important work immediately at hand is to ascertain if the 600,000 loyal troops in the field have the courage to fight the enemy. Here we have 200,000 troops within forty miles of Washington, but Gen. McClellan dare not strike a blow at the enemy, though no one supposes that the enemy has more than 100,000 troops to meet an assault on the banks of the Potomac. It is useless to deny that there is much anxiety and dissatisfaction on this subject. If an army of more than half a million cannot afford to wage offensive war upon the rebels, at what point in the campaign can the government troops *begin* to put down the rebellion? Already we have a debt which, at the close of the fiscal year, will amount to five or six hundred millions. People ask—members of Congress ask—how much longer can we stand such expenditures upon the basis of a do-nothing policy? There is a disposition to keep as quiet under the circumstances as is possible, but there is deep anxiety on the subject, such an anxiety as it is impossible to cover up; and, before spring, unless something is done in the military line beside build wooden huts and review the troops, it will burst forth on the floor of Congress.

There is considerable complaint against Mr. Seward, inasmuch as he *seems* to imagine that the result of the contest rests upon his foreign diplomacy, and not upon the success of government troops in the field. An important member of Congress remarked, after looking over the thick pamphlet of foreign correspondence sent to Congress by Mr. Seward, "He puts the cart in the place of the horse. He labors very hard to convince foreign governments that we are going to put down the rebellion, yet seems to care little as to the fact itself." As a whole, none will deny that Mr. Seward has managed our foreign affairs with ability, but why he should have gone so far out of his way to tell the governments of England and France that slavery would not be affected by the war, and that if the rebellion was successful, or not successful, still slavery would occupy the same position of security as before the breaking out of the war—no one can tell. Mr. Seward is not popular with the present Congress. The earnest Republicans distrust him, and the Democrats will not yet forgive him for his "irrepressible" doctrines of two years ago. They say that he was the leader of the radical Republicans so long as it was in their power to do any harm, and when the deed was done—when the South was provoked into rebellion by Mr. Seward's doctrines as exemplified by his Republican disciples, *then* the teacher and apostle recanted, and turned Conservative. This is what *the Democrats* say, and they generally add, "We like those Republicans who have pluck and honesty enough to stand by their principles."

Mr. Sumner gave slavery a tremendous hit right in the presence of President Lincoln last week, when delivering his eulogy upon Baker.* It was one of the most eloquent passages ever uttered in the American Senate, and produced a thrilling effect. Mr. Lincoln actually started from his seat as Sumner uttered the word "*murdered*"—it was slavery that *murdered* Baker—and the gallery audience found it difficult to suppress its enthusiasm. Such is the change in the Senate, that the man who, one year ago, was in danger of his life for uttering strong sentiments on the subject of slavery, *now* utters them without fear of reproach or criticism, in the midst of a funeral speech.

There is something of a stir in political circles at the prospect of a foreign war, though it is the opinion of our wise men—if we have any—that there will be no war with England. We cannot well manage such a conflict at the present time, and ought to avoid it if possible. Mr. Seward's policy is a wretched one in this respect, and if he is not overruled by the President, he will ruin the nation. Mr. Lincoln is, however, cautious and timid; and will not rush hastily into hostilities with the strongest naval power in the world.

AVON.

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* See Congressional proceedings in another column.—E

PRO-SLAVERY DEMOCRACY ILLUMINATED.—A correspondent of Bennett's *Herald*, travelling in New England for the purpose of noting the signs of what that paper calls a great revolution in public opinion—a revolution which is to knock the Abolitionists sky-high and bring in a general millennium for the sham Democracy—sets this down among other items of evidence:

"WHAT AN OLD HUNKER DEMOCRAT THINKS.—He is a burly, robust, full-faced, florid complexioned gentleman, about fifty years old. He has a large interest in the preservation of the Union, and, although he has many friends South, the government that protects him and his property commands his support, perhaps a little unwillingly. He slightly believes, however, that nobody but Democrats of the old school are fit to manage the government, and that when 'Honest Old Abe's' time is out, an old hunker Democrat will succeed him, the Republican party gone to smash, the naughty South come back again, and we shall all live together again a happy family of sovereign (?) States. This is looking a little ahead, to be sure; but when did you ever see an old hunker Democrat that didn't, even here in Massachusetts? The doctrine of emancipation is, however, too much. It chokes him to talk of it, and his difficulty of articulation is only overcome by a spasmodic effort and the enunciation of a first class, red hot oath, too big to appear in a single edition.

"'What in hell are you going to do with the damned niggers after you free 'em? Goin to send 'em North to compete with our own white, hardworking mechanics, especially those with that damned delicious brogue? Four millions of free niggers to pour into the North, take the damned pea soup and damned pork and beans out of the damned mouths of our d-d-d-down-trodden fellow citizens and Democrats. No, I'll be damned d-double-d-damned if I swallow that; and Sumner, and Wilson, and Cameron, and all the rest, with old Abe and Horace Greeley to boot, may all go to the devil or Darnestown before I agree to anything of the sort.'"

We print this outburst of disgusting profanity because it serves to illustrate and to illuminate the sort of "Democracy" which arrays itself everywhere against Abolitionists, and with which the New York *Observer* and other pro-slavery religious sheets are in reality identified. There is not a grog-shop, nor any other haunt of vice, in all the land, where *The Observer's* hostility to emancipation and its abuse of the Abolitionists would not be commended.

Our Western Correspondence.

Cincinnati, O., Dec. 10.

To see this nation looking hopefully up to, and waiting patiently upon, George B. McClellan, as one who is to bring them any good, struck me a month or so ago as ludicrous; to-day it strikes me as unutterably mournful. When Hercules went to unbind Prometheus, he sailed, as the fable stands in Seneca, the whole length of the ocean in an earthen pot (*urceus*); and, if America went South to break the chains of Humanity, it would matter but little who was her Commanding General—whether a glorious man of war or an earthen pot. But, as America has no such divine security, it is simply painful to see its fortunes entrusted to that small man alluded to. A small man he is in every regard, and owes his elevation only to the notorious ability of creeping things to climb where lions cannot. In "The Conduct of Life" I read that "people fly to physicians, not that they have any faith in them, but in despair of themselves." What other reason can be assigned for the elevation of this railroad president to his present position? There was not one thing in his campaign in Western Virginia to justify it; on the contrary, the only successful expedition there was one which disobeyed his orders, he taking credit. His proclamation on entering Virginia was one which should have placed him under arrest; and his despatches were remarkable only for their vanity and the silliness of that one which gravely announced to the War Department that he had cleared Western Virginia of rebels! If the people had not been disgracefully cowed by their public servants, it would have been impossible for George McClellan to have had Gen. Scott's place dragged down to his stature in the face of two of the most outrageous and needless blunders of the war—the blockade of the Potomac and Ball's Bluff—both of which occurred within his immediate district, and will be, if any real investigation of the two is made, be traced to his door. *But that investigation will not take place, for military reasons.*

To one who knows the associations and antecedents of this man it is intrinsically credible that, as far as any principle is concerned, he might have been indifferently on one side or the other; and, if slavery and freedom were at direct issue, his natural place would have been on the side of slavery. Of the moral forces at work, under masque of North and South, he is as ignorant as a Hottentot.

Some have imagined that there is something in his *personnel* calculated to inspire the hopes which our rulers have reposed upon him. Nothing but the toadyism of N. P. Willis has ever discovered anything of the kind. The other day I sat an hour with a young man who had gone out at the first tap of the drum, and been under McClellan in Western Virginia, and returned lately with typhoid, from which he was recovering. I asked him about McClellan, as viewed by his men; and this gentleman, who has a first-class mind and a high culture, informed me that the general idea among the soldiers is, that Gen. McClellan "is a great little man. He knows how to obey orders implicitly, but is always weak in giving them. Has no *suggestiveness* of mind. The soldiers liked him; always believed him disposed to do them justice; but in not one soldier's breast did he ever kindle a spark of enthusiasm; and when told that Gen. McClellan was to leave them for Washington, they would not have tossed a copper as to whether he should go or stay, as far as they were concerned." This is as good a report of Gen. McClellan as I have been able to get from the large number of soldiers with whom I have conversed.

Meantime, the world looking on sees that the man who is to do anything about Washington must be a large man—a man to enkindle the enthusiasm of soldiers, and *win*—not *whine* for—the "confidence" of the nation. He asks for the people's "patience and confidence"—the moderate man! The first he has pressed on until it is ready to break, and, I trust, will soon; and as for the latter, has he never heard of an old proverb which reads: "Confidence is a plant of slow growth"? If he wishes to find any such plant in his garden, by spring, 'tis time he was planting it.

But George B. McClellan will make no move, therefore no mistake; he counts that the people are ready to sustain the sneaking, cowardly policy of sitting, at cost of a million a day, on the banks of the Potomac, in a battle of endurance, to see which can wait the longest, and whose purse will hold out the longest. I know well enough what I say: Gen. McClellan has fulfilled his whole power in reörganizing the army of the Potomac; he can hold the place he has now only at the cost of the demoralization of the entire country on the political issue, and the moral position toward this rebellion.

But why should we waste thoughts upon the donkeys in lions' hides, near which fatal unmasking hands are hovering, when, in the ranks of God's own bodyguard, captains are falling? Alas! when such men as George W. Curtis talk about a "national honor" as compatible with the buying and selling of human souls and bodies; when such a man as Henry Ward Beecher falters in the path, and sinks to the rear with the crouching and abject, what shall we say? Last week, I read, in the vilest of Missouri pro-slavery sheets, the report of Henry Ward Beecher's Thanksgiving Discourse, under the joyful caption: "A Daniel come to Judgment!" Our own pro-slavery Democratic sheet, the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, had the same, headed—"Sound Views from an Unexpected Quarter." Not a vile sheet supporting human bondage, from *The Herald* and *Express* of New York, to the wretched, filthy sheets of Kentucky, but are hailing as a co-worker Henry Ward Beecher!

I read them all—for they were flaunted in my face by the foes of freedom—and for the first time I knew the full plaintiveness of the old Prophet's words: "They shall be as when a standard-bearer fainteth."

I read the sermon from which they gained strength and from my heart welled up a tear, which blotted one more honored and trusted name from my calendar, already, alas! too brief.

We that had loved him so, followed him, honored him,
  Lived in his mild and magnificent eye,
Learned his great language, caught his clear accents,
  Made him our pattern to live and to die!

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Life's night begins: let him never come back to us!
  There would be doubt, hesitation and pain,
Forced praise on our part—the glimmer of twilight,
  Never glad confident morning again!

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Atlantic Monthly for January is a capital number. Here is a list of the articles it contains. "Methods of Study in Natural History," the first of a series of papers by Prof. Louis Agassiz. "Agnes of Sorrento," by Mrs. Stowe, continued. "The True Heroine," a poem. "Jefferson and Slavery," an excellent and timely paper, by Prof. A. D. White, of the University of Michigan, bringing out in bold relief the anti-slavery sentiments of the great founder and early leader of American Democracy, and contrasting them with the miserable pro-slavery course of the party called Democratic at this day. "A Story of To-day," continued, by the author of "Life in the Iron Mills." "James Fenimore Cooper," by George S. Hillard. "Per Tenebras Lumina," by Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney. "Love and Skates," by the late Major Winthrop. "Light Literature," by Rev. D. A. Wasson. "Pilgrimage to Old Boston," by Nathaniel Hawthorne. "Autobiographical Sketches of a Strength-Seeker," by Dr. George B. Windship. "Fremont's Hundred Days in Missouri," by William Dorsheimer, of Buffalo. "Birdofredum Sawin, Esq., to Mr. Hosea Biglow," by J. R. Lowell; for which (omitting the introductory epistle of the Rev. Homer Wilbur, A.M.) see fourth page of this week's Standard. "Old Age," by Ralph Waldo Emerson. "Reviews and Literary Notices."—Boston: Ticknor and Fields.

The Spirit of the Pulpit.—George P. Putnam, 532 Broadway, publisher of *The Rebellion Record*, proposes to issue a supplementary volume under this title: 'Spirit of the Pulpit, with Reference to the Present Crisis: a Collection of Sermons by distinguished divines, North and South, with revisions and corrections by the authors." The First Part of this volume is before us, containing twenty-one Sermons, by as many different preachers, representing various phases of sentiment at the North and the argument for Secession as presented by the Southern pulpit. Among the Southern discourses is that of Dr. Palmer of New Orleans, "Slavery a Divine Trust"; also that of Bishop Elliott of Georgia, 'God's Presence with the Confederate States"; and it would be wrong not to include under the same head that of Rev. Southside Adams of Boston, "The Re-Union of the States." Among the Northern discourses we find those of Dr. Tyng, Dr. Bellows, Dr. Hitchcock and Dr. Hodge. The radical Pulpit will no doubt have a hearing in future numbers.

Proceedings of Congress.

In the Senate, on Wednesday, Dec. 11, Mr. Sumner presented a petition for the emancipation of the slaves, those of the rebels without compensation, and those of Union men to be paid for.

Mr. Morrill, of Maine (Rep.), introduced a joint resolution for the confiscation of the property of rebels, and for the satisfaction of the claims of loyal men.

Mr. Nesmith, of Oregon (Opp.), announced the death of his late colleague, Edward Dickinson Baker, United States Senator from Oregon, paid a brief and feeling tribute to his worth and bravery, and offered the usual resolution of respect to his memory. Mr. Nesmith was followed by Messrs. McDougall and Latham of California, Mr Browning of Illinois, Mr. Cowan of Pa., Mr. Dixon of Ct., and Mr. Sumner of Massachusetts. The address of the Senator last named was one of those finished productions to which no mere sketch can do any sort of justice. Our limits permit us to give only the peroration:

"The question is painfully asked, who was the author of this tragedy, now filling the Senate Chamber, as it has already filled the country, with mourning? There is a strong desire to hold somebody responsible, where so many perished so unprofitably. But we need not appoint committees or study testimony in order to know precisely who took this precious life. The great criminal is easily detected. The guns, the balls, and the men that fired them, are of little importance. It is the Power behind them all, saying, 'the State, it is I,' which took this precious life; and this Power is Slavery. The nine balls which slew our departed brother came from slavery. Every gaping wound of his lacerated bosom testifies against slavery. Every drop of his generous blood cries out from the ground against slavery. To hold others responsible is to hold the humble agent and to dismiss the giant principal. Nor shall we do great service if we merely criticise some local blunder, while we leave untouched that fatal inactivity through which the weakness of the rebellion is changed into strength, and the strength of our armies is changed into weakness.

"Let not our grief to-day be a hollow pageant; let it not expend itself in this funeral pomp. It must become a motive and an impulse to patriot action. But patriotism itself, that commanding charity, embracing so many other charities, is only a name, and nothing else, unless you resolve that slavery, the barbarous enemy of our country, the irreconcilable foe of our Union, the violator of our Constitution, the disturber of our peace, the vampire of our national life, sucking its best blood, the assassin of our children, and the murderer of our dead Senator shall be overturned. The just Avenger is at hand, with weapon of celestial temper. Let it be drawn. Until this is done, the patriot, discerning clearly the secret of our weakness, can only say sorrowfully—

——"'bleed, bleed, poor country.
Great tyranny, lay thou thy basis sure,
For goodness dares not check thee!'"

In the House, on the 11th, Mr. McKnight, of Pennsylvania (Rep.), from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, reported a resolution, which was adopted, that all memorials, resolutions and documents, which may be presented for the recognition of the independence of Hayti and Liberia to be referred to that Committee.

Mr. Bingham, of Ohio (Rep.), introduced a bill to forfeit the property and slaves of persons who are in armed rebellion against the United States.

Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois (Rep.), offered a resolution instructing the Committee on Foreign Affairs to report a bill establishing diplomatic relations between the United States and Hayti, and Liberia. A debate arising, the resolution lies over.

The consideration of the preamble and resolution condemning the order of Gen. Halleck in respect to fugitive slaves (see last week's Standard, under head of Congressional Proceedings) was announced.

Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania (Rep.), said: "If the passage of the resolution is to have a good effect, especially in the West, the sooner it is passed the better. The allegation of Gen. Halleck, as an excuse for his order that fugitive slaves, whom he proposes to exclude from his lines, give information to the enemy, is too bold a pretence to justify him. The return of fugitive slaves was intended by Gen. McClellan, and had been followed by Gens. Dix, Kelly and others. All these cases are a disgrace to the profession of arms. If such return of fugitives has been made by order of the Commanding-Generals, they deserve to have their epaulettes torn from their shoulders, and if it has been done by higher authority, 'then God forgive them, for they know not what they do.'"

Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois (Rep.), expressed his honest conviction that such orders were issued by the commanding Generals of the army, without orders from the President. He was satisfied of this fact. While the President does not remove and cashier them as he (Lovejoy) would, he did not believe that they (the commanding Generals) had power for any such inhuman and shameful measures. As far as can be ascertained, the testimony of every General in the field is that the slaves are true, loyal and faithful. While, with Gen. McDowell, previous to the battle of Bull Run, that General carefully inquired of every black fugitive with regard to the movements and positions of the enemy, and the topography of the country. The slaves are the most reliable scouts we have, and he thought it most shameful, mean and contemptible, for Major-Generals of the army to slander a race already proscribed.

Mr. Blair, of Missouri, said Mr. Stevens had evidently misunderstood Gen. Halleck's order. The latter (Halleck) had informed him he had no idea of doing anything contrary to the law of the last Congress and the policy of the government. It was a gross injustice to Gen. Halleck to say that he has ordered the return of fugitive slaves to disloyal masters. His simple purpose was to exclude from his camp such persons as could convey information to the enemy.

After some further discussion, the resolution, on motion of Mr. Vallandigham, was laid on the table—yeas 78, nays 64.

The resolution heretofore introduced looking to a recognition of the independence of Hayti and Liberia, coming up,

Mr. Cox, of Ohio (Opp.), offered an amendment that the Committee on Foreign Affairs inquire into the expediency of doing so, instead of the direct instructions to report a bill for that purpose.

Mr. Cox said that instead of bringing up so frequently the "pestiferous negro," the country expected Congress to give a little time to more important subjects.

The amendment was agreed to and the resolution adopted.

In the Senate, Dec. 12th, nothing of importance in relation to slavery was done.

In the House, on the same day, Mr. Blair, of Missouri (Rep.), rising to a question of privilege, caused to be read the following extract as further explanatory of the remarks which he made on Mr. Lovejoy's resolution, having in view the revocation of a part of Gen. Halleck's general order relative to fugitive slaves. The resolution, it has already been stated, was laid on the table.

Headquarters,
Department of the Missouri.

Hon. F. P. Blair, Washington.

My Dear Colonel: Yours of the 4th inst. is just received. Order No. 3 was, in my mind, clearly a military necessity. Unauthorized persons, black or white, free or slave, must be kept out of our camps unless we are willing to publish to the enemy everything we do or intend to do. It was a military, and not a political order. I am ready to carry out any lawful instructions in regard to fugitive slaves which my superiors may give me, and to enforce any laws which Congress may pass, but I cannot make law and will not violate it. You know my private opinion on the policy of confiscating the slave property of rebels in arms. If Congress shall pass it, you may be certain that I shall enforce it. Perhaps my policy as to the treatment of rebels and their property is as well set out in Order No. 13, issued the day before your letter was written, as I could now describe it. Yours truly,

H. W. Halleck.

Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois (Rep.), in explanation said, in introducing his resolution, he, of course, did not desire to revoke an order that Gen. Halleck did not mean to make. He would say in regard to himself and others, that an attempt has been made to convey the impression that he and others design to support the war, not against the rebellion, but against slavery. He believed in taking away all the property of rebels and emancipating their slaves as the most efficient means of suppressing the rebellion. Others might differ from him as to the policy, but while he was not in favor of carrying on the war for the specific and ultimate purpose of liberating the slaves, he was against carrying it on for protecting slavery. He was opposed to the army being employed as slave-catchers, and to giving orders to throw back on their masters those who desire to escape, whether free or slave, black or white. Consequently, he thought if any orders had been given to drive slaves back into the hands of secessionists or into the hands of slaveholders, whether loyal or not, it was contrary to sound policy in carrying on the war and suppressing the rebellion. In conclusion, he said, if any soldiers want to fight simply for the purpose of returning fugitive slaves, he had only to remark that the army would be stronger without them.

Mr. Eliot, of Massachusetts (Rep.), proceeded to explain and enforce his resolution, declaring that the war has for its object the suppression of the rebellion and the reëstablishment of the rightful authority of the National Constitution and the laws over the entire extent of our common country, and advising that military orders for the emancipation of the slaves be used whenever the same shall avail to weaken the power of the rebels in arms or in sustaining the military power of the loyal forces. Slavery, he argued, was at the root of the rebellion, and, therefore, is an outlaw. There was no doubt loyal men should be protected, because it should be understood that the men who stand up for the right should be held close to our hearts. This war had been called an anti-slavery war; it was no such thing. Though slavery caused it, and though by it slavery may be overthrown or removed, nevertheless the object of the war is to recover the rightful authority of the government, and to put down treason. He spoke of the desertion of the country around about Port Royal, and in reply to his own question, What ought to be done? said: Let our military commanders organize a Bureau of Agriculture—let the black hands gather the white staple—let the shackles fall off the limbs thus employed. His resolutions, he said, do not determine what the future is to be. Let us first do the work put upon us, and after that the way will be opened to us. As our army advances, the reëstablishment of the former order of things would be apparent. Already a Post-office has been put in operation at Port Royal, soon the schoolhouse and church would follow, and even in the Palmetto State the banner of our common country will wave over the land of the free. Treason will be suppressed, the rebellion overcome, and the rightful authority of the laws and Constitution maintained. In the course of his remarks he said Simon Cameron had done more in three months to raise his name higher among men and the lovers of freedom, and as an opposer of rebellion and treason, than during all his previous long career in public life. Towards the conclusion of his lengthy argument, he said it was time there was a definite policy on this subject of confiscation, and he further contended that, as slavery was at the root of the treason, it should be eradicated, and quoted authorities to show that, by the law of nations, it was competent and right to pursue the course which his resolutions indicate.

Mr. Steele (Opp., New York) made a weak pro-slavery reply to Mr. Eliot.

Mr. Conway, of Kansas (Rep.), contended that the conflict which has been progressing for nine months has changed its original character. From an attempt to put down an insurrection it has settled into deliberate war. We have not encountered the enemy in any battle in which we have won an unquestionable victory. With the exception of the advantages gained by two expeditions, on the Southern coast, our arms have everywhere been overborne, notwithstanding our volunteers have displayed a gallantry rarely equalled. The general purposes of the government have been defeated, and the rebels have secured with nations a belligerent character in derogation of their responsibility to the Federal Union. How then could they have rights under the Constitution which the government is bound to respect while they exercise the rights of belligerents arising from incompatible relations. We cannot treat them as sister States while they are warring upon us. In condemning the slaveholding power, he said its lust for dominion would cover the whole continent with its black pall. It was Kansas that first interposed a barrier to the despotic rule and stayed the despotic tide of slavery. History has no brighter page in all her annals than that of Kansas. Absolute security is what slavery wants, hence estimated power only will suffice. The principle on which the war is conducted by the Administration would restore slavery to its former relations to the Union. Again would disasters similar to the present result, and the causes which now operate would, in the future, involve us in the horrors of civil war. The old issue would revive with all its political earnestness. The emancipation of the slaves should be declared as a military necessity.

In the Senate, on Monday, Mr. Grimes (Rep., Iowa) presented a petition that, in consequence of the present rebellion, slavery be absolutely and unconditionally abolished.

Mr. Sumner (Rep., Mass.) presented several petitions asking that the slaves of the rebels be emancipated.

Mr. Ten Eyck (Rep., N. J.) offered a resolution, that the present war is for the Union according to the Constitution; and that the object of the war is to save the former, and enforce the latter; that it was so in the beginning, and should be so to the last; that measures extreme and radical, and disruptive in themselves, involving in a common fate the loyal and disloyal, should not be resorted to, and that, in suppressing treason, the government cannot prove a traitor to the organic law of the land. Laid over.

Mr. Hale (Rep., N. H.) offered a resolution that the Committee on Military Affairs be requested to inquire into the expediency of providing a uniform manner for dealing with the slaves of the rebels, and those made prisoners or escaping from their masters. Agreed to.

Mr. Sumner offered a resolution that the Commissioner of Patents inquire if any additional legislation is necessary to secure persons of African descent the right to take out patents. Agreed to.

Mr. Wilkinson (Rep., Min.) offered a resolution to expel Jesse D. Bright of Indiana from the Senate for disloyalty. Mr. Bright made a weak speech in his own defence, after which the resolution was referred to the Judiciary Committee.

A communication was received from the Marshal of the District, in reply to the resolution heretofore adopted in regard to slaves confined in the jail. The Marshal said the slaves have been so confined in consequence of old and uniform custom here, which he supposed according to law, but had not made investigation of the subject.

Mr. Trumbull called up the resolution asking the Secretary of State if persons had been arrested in the loyal States, and by what authority. An earnest debate ensued, Messrs. Dixon (Rep., Ct.), Wilson (Rep., Ms.), Fessenden (Rep., Me.), and Browing (Rep., Ill.), opposing, and Messrs. Trumbull (Rep., Ill.), Hale (Rep., N. H.), Kennedy (Md.), and Pearce (Md.) supporting. Mr. Hale spoke with great energy and force, contending that the country was fighting for "constitutional liberty, regulated by law," and "had better fail than be faithless to that great principle." We give an extract from his speech:

"He wanted to strengthen the hands of the government, but he wanted them to stretch their vigilance across the Potomac, South instead of North. If the people, now pouring out their blood and treasure, find they have been trifled with, and that imbecility has stood in the way of courage in a vigorous prosecution of the war, then there will a storm come upon their heads, such as history has never recorded, and with no great degree of faith we might even now hear the rumblings of the coming storm. The people he represented will support the government in a vigorous prosecution of the war, and woe to those who do not understand the day and the hour and the crisis of destiny." . . . . "The Hon. Senator from Massachusetts, who is at the head of the Military Committee, says he believes that these arrests have done more to secure the liberties of the country than all the army have done. Well, sir, I shall not question that; it may be so; but if we can stand here two months from to-day—and God knows whether we shall be in the land of the living or not—and the remark of the Senator from Massachusetts be as true then as it is now, you will find an army against you compared to which the army on the other side of the Potomac is as nothing. I don't believe that everybody connected with the administration of this government understands the character of the issue in which we are engaged; but I venture to predict, though I am not a prophet, that this people, who are pouring out their blood and treasure with a heartiness and willingness that no other people on the face of God's earth ever did, if they shall find, in the future, that they have been trifled with, and that imbecility and indisposition have stood in the place of courage, and manly energy and perseverance in the serious, vigorous, energetic prosecution of this war—then there will be such a storm come upon your heads as history has never yet recorded. And it don't want a very great degree of faith to bear the distant rumblings of that thunder-storm, which will overwhelm this Administration and this party in power, if they do not see the things that belong to the day and the hour, before they are hidden from their eyes. I care as little as any man for any comments upon the poor speeches I make. I owe it to those who send me here. And there is no man on this floor who represents a more loyal, a more brave, and determined people, than the constituency I have the honor in part to represent. We are a small State, but no enemy ever yet pressed their footsteps on our soil; and our men will go forth, and what treasure she has will be poured forth, without measure and without stint, to sustain this Administration; but I will tell you upon what they will sustain it, and upon what alone. It is upon a vigorous prosecution of this war. They don't believe it is to be done by carrying out what Dickens says is the great theory of the British Constitution, 'How Not to Do It.'"

The resolution was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, 25 to 17.

Mr. Wilson (Rep., Mass.) introduced a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. The general provisions of the bill are, that slaves shall be free in the District; that three Commissioners shall be appointed to act on the claims of owners; that such claims, when substantiated, shall be allowed, to the amount of $300 for a single slave; that the Commissioners shall make a final report in nine months; and that $1,000,000 shall be appropriated for the purpose named. It is said to have been prepared with great care, and after much consultation. Its provisions meet the approbation of the Cabinet officers, and a number of members of both Houses, and several military men high in position.

In the House, on Monday, Mr. Vallandigham (Opp., O.), whose loyalty is suspected, endeavored to commit the body to an unconditional approval of the arrest of Mason and Slidell, giving no opportunity for discussion. His object was, apparently, to bring on a war with Great Britain, in the interest of the rebels. His resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

In the Senate, on Tuesday, Mr. Sumner presented several petitions for the emancipation of the slaves of rebels. He also offered a resolution that the Committee on Military Affairs be instructed to inquire into the expediency of providing by legislation that the army shall not be employed in the surrender of fugitive slaves. Laid over.

Mr. Lane (Rep., Kansas) called up the resolution that the Secretary of War be requested to furnish to the Senate copies of the orders for the erection of barracks for Kansas troops. He avowed that his object in introducing the resolution was to gain an opportunity to express his views as to the dilatory policy of the government in the management of the war, and he proceeded to make a stirring speech, of which we can give only these brief extracts, just to indicate his spirit:

"My confidence in the Administration will not permit me for a moment seriously to entertain the injurious suspicion that this army we have created—so admirable in spirit and discipline, so complete in all its appointments—this magnificent organization, to which the country has contributed its choicest spirits, and on which it has lavished untold millions of treasure—is destined, without one decisive blow struck, to a living burial in the inglorious obscurity of winter quarters! But should this confidence prove to be misplaced—should this fatal policy of inaction seize upon the energies of our rulers—I feel, I know, that the public announcement of the fact will be as the fire-bell at midnight. Dismay and confusion will follow; and the evils of anarchy may interpose new and fearful obstacles to the restoration of that government whose chief peril must always result from the loss of confidence on the part of the people."

"Mr. President, to doubt our ability is disgraceful. Let it not be said that the snows of winter are upon us. If Washington could march his barefooted soldiers over the frozen roads of New Jersey, their footsteps marked with blood, and in the middle of winter cross the Delaware, filled with floating ice, can we not, at the same season, move our well-clad legions towards the mild valleys of the South, to reëstablish that freedom which their sufferings secured? Will you wait till spring, when the roads, if ever, will become impassable? or till our troops shall have been decimated by the diseases of summer? No. Clear this war of the doubts that surround its purpose; give to the volunteer a battle-cry; cherish that enthusiasm which is indispensable to success, and which nerved the conscripts of Napoleon to the achievement of victory without reference to disparity of numbers." . . . . "The occupation of the rebel States by our army is a military necessity. I laugh to scorn the policy of wooing back the traitors to their allegiance by seizing and holding unimportant points in those States. Every invitation extended to them in kindness is an encouragement to stronger resistance. The exhausting policy is a failure; so long as they have four million slaves to feed them so long will this rebellion be sustained. My word for it, sir, long before they reach the point of exhaustion the people of this country will lose confidence in their rulers.

"I have alluded to the slave population of the rebel States. It is claimed by the friends of slavery that the institution is a source of military strength. The slaves are made not only to feed and clothe their oppressors, but to build fortifications for their defence, and even in some cases to bear arms in their service. The slaveholders are right, and they are wrong; the institution is an element of strength, but only while it exists. Withdraw that element, and this rebellion falls of its own weight. The masters will not work, and they must eat. Now, they are fighting to retain their slaves, exposing their lives and the lives of their sons. Suppose we had their slaves; to what lengths would they not go in an opposite direction, in the hope to recover them? They would bow down, in dutiful submission, even to Abraham Lincoln himself. In my opinion, the obtaining possession of those slaves, by the government, would be more effective in crushing out the rebellion than the seizure, if it could be made, of every ounce of ammunition they possess. As the fear of losing their slaves is now the incentive to war, so would then the desire for their recovery be the inducement for peace. March your armies into the heart of their confederacy—win one victory—oppose kindness to cruelty, and as the peasantry of France rallied to the standard of Napoleon on his return from Elba, so will the slaves, with one impulse, flock to ours. The General who commands that army will be received with the same acclaim as was Bonaparte; they will hail him as their liberator and friend, and by their very numbers will secure safety to his army. No trouble, then, in obtaining information of the enemy's operations. Interested in our success—grateful as they will be faithful—every movement will instantly be reported, endangering their champions and protectors. Peace will be restored, and the cause of the war removed; and then, in these halls, in the interests of humanity and a united country, we can deliberate and do justice."

Mr. Carlile, the new Senator from Western Virginia, replied to Mr. Lane in terms which show clearly enough that his love of the Union is entirely subordinate to his love of slavery. Says the correspondent of *The Tribune*: "It was so Southern in tone as to remind several Senators of one of his predecessors who is now in Fort Warren. In saying that if war were waged for the overthrow of slavery we should find our armies melting away like snow before a Southern sun, he showed that the border State devil had not yet been exorcised."

In the House, on Tuesday, Mr. Harding of Kentucky made a pro-slavery speech, in tone and spirit like that of Mr. Carlile in the Senate.

Mr. Chase on Confiscation.—The Secretary of the Treasury, in his Report just presented to Congress, thus expresses his views as to the propriety of confiscating the property of the rebels:

"While thus recommending retrenchment and the prevention of abuses, the Secretary feels himself constrained to renew the suggestion heretofore submitted by him, that the property of rebels should be made to pay, in part at least, the cost of rebellion. Property of great value in loyal States is held by proprietors who are actually or virtually engaged in that guilty attempt to break up the Union and overturn its government, which has brought upon our country all the calamities we now endure. That property is justly forfeited to the people, and should be subjected, with due regard for all rights and interests concerned, to sequestration or confiscation, and the proceeds should be applied to the satisfaction of claims arising from the war.

"Property of rebels in rebel States should be treated in like manner. Rights to services, under State laws, must, of necessity, form an exception to any rule of confiscation. Persons held by rebels, under such laws, to service as slaves, may, however, be justly liberated from their constraint, and made more valuable in various employments, through voluntary and compensated service, than if confiscated as subjects of property."

This is brief, but sufficient to show that Mr. Chase is in favor of liberating the slaves as a means of weakening and conquering the rebels. The reluctance of the President to take this position is no more creditable to his political sagacity than to his sense of justice and his hatred of oppression.

The Independent for the present week, received just as we are going to press, contains an announcement which cannot fail to surprise its readers as much as it did ourselves. The Rev. Doctors Thompson, Bacon and Storrs, who have for so long a time been the editors of that paper, have resigned, and the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher now occupies their place. Widely as we differ from Mr. Beecher on some points, and deeply as we lament some of his recent utterances, we rejoice in this change. *The Independent* in his hands may not be all that we could wish, but that its tone on all questions of reform will be greatly improved, we cannot doubt. It will be emancipated from the ecclesiastical trammels by which it has been bound hitherto, and become more responsive to the best spirit of the age. It will not again lead a mean persecution against Dr. Cheever, nor denounce Mr. Garrison as "an infidel of the most degraded class." However it may differ from the radical Abolitionists, it will treat them with fairness and respect. Mr. Beecher, we need not say, possesses some of the very finest qualities of a good journalist, but his habits as an off-hand preacher and lecturer sometimes lead him to speak on public topics without careful investigation, and thereby to injure the very cause he meant to serve. See, for example, the extract on the first page from his Thanksgiving sermon—an extract which the pro-slavery presses throughout the land are even now "rolling as a sweet morsel under their tongues." Mr. Beecher *means* to be right, and he *is* right in heart, though, sometimes, through haste or impulsiveness, grievously wrong in head. The responsibilities of a journalist will, we doubt not, tend to correct his habit of uttering himself on public questions without due investigation and reflection.

Dr. Leavitt still remains at his post as office editor, and our friend Theodore Tilton, emancipated from unwholesome restraints, will find, as Mr. Beecher's assistant, a clear field for the exercise of his fine talents as a journalist.

OBITUARY.

Died, in Coventry (R. I.), Nov. 10th, after a lingering illness, Caleb Kilton, in the 81st year of his age. He was a pioneer in the Anti-Slavery movement—was a member of the Convention which organized the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society in February, 1836, and was one of the directors. He was one of the fifteen subscribers to *The Liberator* in his vicinity about that time, and at his death was one of the three that continued their subscriptions through the storm of 1840 and subsequent political and ecclesiastical trials. His faith was never shaken in the righteousness of the cause, nor in the fidelity by which it was conducted. Many of the Anti-Slavery agents and lecturers will long remember the Kilton family, which consisted, a few years ago, of the deceased and his six maiden sisters, all Abolitionists of the right stamp. They have been dropping away, one after the other, nearly in the order of their ages, until the two younger are all that remain.—*Liberator.*

P. C.

Chronicles of the War.

The Case of Mason and Slidell.—Exciting News from England.

By the latest arrivals from Europe we have intelligence of the effect produced in Great Britain by the first reports of the capture of Mason and Slidell. The excitement was intense, the tone of the press belligerent, and the rumors as to the action of the British government such as to create no little anxiety for the result. The London *Times* of Nov. 30 declared that the government had decided "that the act of the captain of the San Jacinto, in seizing passengers on a British vessel and carrying them forcibly away, is a clear violation of the laws of nations, and one for which reparation must be at once demanded. In all probability the first steamer will carry out instructions to Lord Lyons to demand reparation for the ill-advised act of seizing Mason and Slidell while under the protection of the British flag. Should this demand not be complied with, we cannot doubt that Lord Lyons will, under the instructions of his government, withdraw with the British Delegation from Washington."

The London *Observer* (ministerial organ) says "a special messenger of the foreign office has been ordered to carry our demands to Lord Lyons, and will proceed from Queenstown to-day. The public will be satisfied to know that these demands are for an apology and to insist on the restitution to the protection of the British flag of those who were violently and illegally torn from that sacred asylum." *The Observer* adds that "there is no reason why they should not be restored to the quarter deck of the British Admiral at New York or Washington itself, in the face of some ten or twelve men-of-war, whose presence in the Potomac would render the blustering Cabinet at Washington as helpless as the Trent was before the guns and cutlasses of the San Jacinto. It is no fault of ours if it should come even to this."

It is understood that a bearer of dispatches to Lord Lyons arrived in the Europa at Boston on Tuesday evening, and proceeded at once to Washington. A messenger, with dispatches for the State Department from our Minister at the British Court, is said to have arrived at the same time. The Cunard steamer Africa at this port has been detained to take out dispatches from Lord Lyons in response to those brought by the special messenger from the British government.

The Feeling in France.

Letters from France state that the news of the American difficulty caused immense sensation in Paris, and the first general impression was that ample reparation must be made to prevent a collision.

It was reported, first in London, then in Paris, that the Emperor Napoleon was to act as a mediator in this matter. The latest news from France, dated Dec. 5, shows that the tone of the French press is becoming less belligerent.

Great Conflagration at Charleston.

On Wednesday evening, the 11th inst., a conflagration broke out in Charleston, S.C., which rapidly extended, defying all the means employed for its extinguishment, and was raging as late as 10 o'clock on the following evening, when the light thereof was seen from the U.S. steamer Illinois passing the harbor. Nearly the whole business part of the city is in ashes. The *Mercury* of the 14th gives a list of 576 buildings, including nearly all the principal churches and halls, and many dwelling-houses. The loss is estimated at $7,000,000. As tenement after tenement was enveloped in flames the panic became awful, and thousands of families evacuated their houses and filled the streets. Mr. Russell, at whose factory the fire originated, thinks that *it must have been occasioned by an incendiary or by the negligence of the negroes employed there.* A kindly-disposed rebel soldier is reported to have said that the fire in Charleston *is well known to have resulted from the negroes setting fire to various buildings at the same time.*

There is only too much reason to apprehend that this dreadful calamity may be connected with extensive insurrectionary plots on the part of the slave population.

The Vanguard of Butler's Expedition at Ship Island.

The vanguard of Butler's Expedition, under Gen. Phelps, arrived at Ship Island on the 4th. Ship Island belongs to the State of Mississippi, and is sixty miles from New Orleans, ninety-five miles from the Southwest Pass of the Mississippi delta, ninety-five miles from Fort Pickens, seventy miles from Mobile, and ten miles from Mississippi City. Its length is seven miles. Gen. Phelps issued the following proclamation:

PROCLAMATION OF BRIG.-GEN. PHELPS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH-WEST.

Headquarters Middlesex Brigade,
Ship Island, Mississippi, December 4, 1861.

To the Loyal Citizens of the South-west:

Without any desire of my own, but contrary to my private inclination, I again find myself among you as a military officer of the government. A proper respect for my fellow-countrymen renders it not out of place that I should make known to you the motives and principles by which my command will be governed.

We believe that every State that has been admitted as a slave State into the Union since the adoption of the Constitution has been so admitted in direct violation of that Constitution.

We believe that the slave States which existed as such at the adoption of our Constitution are, by becoming parties to that compact, under the highest obligations of honor and morality to abolish slavery.

It is our conviction that monopolies are as destructive as competition is conservative of the principles and vitalities of republican government; that slave labor is a monopoly which excludes free labor and competition; that slaves are kept in comparative idleness and ease in a fertile half of our arable national territory, while free white laborers, constantly augmenting in numbers from Europe, are confined to the other half, and are often distressed by want; that the free labor of the North has more need of expansion into the Southern States, from which it is virtually excluded, than slavery had into Texas in 1846; that free labor is essential to free institutions; that these institutions are naturally better adapted and more congenial to the Anglo-Saxon race than are the despotic tendencies of slavery; and, finally, that the dominant political principle of this North American continent, so long as the Caucasian race continues to flow in upon us from Europe, must needs be that of free institutions and free government.

Any obstructions to the progress of that form of government in the United States must inevitably be attended with discord and war.

Slavery, from the condition of a universally recognized social and moral evil, has become at length a political institution, demanding political recognition. It demands rights to the exclusion and annihilation of those rights which are insured to us by the Constitution; and we must choose between them which we will have, for we cannot have both.

The Constitution was made for freemen, not for slaves. Slavery as a social evil might for a time be tolerated and endured, but as a political institution it becomes imperious and exacting, controlling, like a dread necessity, all whom circumstances have compelled to live under its sway, hampering their action, and thus impeding our national progress.

As a political institution it could exist as coördinate part only of two forms of government, *viz.*: the despotic and the free; and it could exist under a free government only where public sentiment, in the most unrestricted exercise of a robust freedom, leading to extravagance and licentiousness, has swayed the thoughts and habits of the people beyond the bounds and limits of their own moderate constitutional provisions. It could exist under a free government only where the people in a period of unreasoning extravagance, had permitted popular clamor to overcome public reason, and had attempted the impossibility of setting up permanently, as a political institution, a social evil which is opposed to moral law.

By reverting to the history of the past, we find that one of the most destructive wars on record, that of the French Revolution, was originated by the attempt to give political character to an institution which was not susceptible of political character.

The Church, by being endowed with political power, with its convents, its schools, its immense landed wealth, its associations, secret and open, became the ruling power of the State, and thus occasioned a war of more strife and bloodshed probably than any other war which has desolated the earth. Slavery is still less susceptible of political character than was the Church. It is as fit, at this moment, for the lumber-room of the past, as was in 1793 the monastery, the landed wealth, the exclusive privilege, etc., of the Catholic Church in France.

It behooves us to consider, as a self-governing people, bred and reared and practised in the habits of self-government, whether we cannot, whether we ought not, to revolutionize slavery out of existence, without the necessity of a conflict of arms like that of the French revolution.

Indeed, we feel assured that the moment slavery is abolished, from that moment our Southern brethren—every ten of whom have probably seven relatives in the North—would begin to emerge from a hateful delirium. From that moment, relieved from imaginary terrors, their days become happy, and their nights peaceful and free from alarm; the aggregate amount of labor under the new stimulus of fair competition becomes greater day by day; property rises in value; invigorating influences succeed to stagnation, degeneracy and decay, and union, harmony and peace—to which we have so long been strangers—become restored, and bind us again in the bonds of friendship and amity, as when we first began our national career under our glorious government of 1789.

Why do the leaders of the rebellion seek to change the form of your ancient government?

Is it because the growth of the African element of your population has come at length to render a change necessary?

Will you permit the free government under which you have thus far lived, and which is so well suited for the development of true manhood, to be altered to a narrow and belittling despotism, in order to adapt it to the necessities of ignorant slaves and the requirements of their proud and aristocratic owners?

Will the laboring men of the South bind their necks to the same yoke that is suited to the slave? We think not.

We may safely answer that the time has not arrived when our Southern brethren, for the mere sake of keeping Africans in slavery, will abandon their long cherished free institutions and enslave themselves.

It is the conviction of my command, as a part of the national forces of the United States, that labor—manual labor—is inherently noble; that it cannot be systematically degraded by any nation without marring its peace, happiness and power; that free labor is the granite basis on which free institutions must rest; that it is the right, the capital, the inheritance, the hope of the poor man everywhere; that it is especially the right of five million of our fellow-countrymen in the slave States, as well as of the four million of Africans there, and all our efforts, therefore, however small or great, whether directed against the interference of governments abroad or against rebellious combinations at home, shall be for free labor.

Our motto and our standard shall be, here and everywhere, and on all occasions:

"Free labor and workingmen's rights."

It is on this basis, and this basis alone, that our munificent government—the asylum of the nations—can be perpetuated and preserved.

J. W. Phelps,
Brigadier-General of Volunteers Commanding.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The time for the Annual Subscription Anniversary again draws nigh, and we look forward to it with pleasure, as the means of meeting familiar, friendly faces, and listening to earnest words of counsel and encouragement. Some say that other agencies are now in such active operation, that "the old Abolitionists," as they are called, can well afford to rest upon their oars, while others carry forward their work to its completion. We cannot view the subject in this light. Our mission is the same now that it was thirty years ago. Through many and strange changes, we have slowly but steadily advanced toward its fulfilment; but there are many indications that our work is not yet in a state to be safely left in other hands. We have been, and we must still be, a fire to warm the atmosphere of public opinion. More than a quarter of a century ago, the fire was kindled with generous zeal, and year after year it has been fed with untiring industry and patience. Not all the cold water that politicians, merchants, and ecclesiastical bodies could throw upon it has sufficed to extinguish the flame, or even to prevent it from spreading. The moral thermometer can never again fall to the old freezing point. In view of this, we thank God, and take courage. But who that observes passing events, and reflects upon their indications, can arrive at the conclusion that the fire is no longer needed?

It is true that blood and treasure are lavishly expended to put down a most wicked and sanguinary rebellion, the proclaimed purpose of which is to extend and perpetuate SLAVERY. But the government of the United States manifests, in every possible way, a vigilant carefulness to protect the claims of slavery, and politicians are continually announcing that the war has nothing to do with the cause of the war. There are now very few slaveholders who condescend to profess allegiance to the government; yet, small as is the remnant of that powerful and unprincipled oligarchy, they still appear to govern the counsels of the nation. The honest expression of the PEOPLE'S wishes is required to be suppressed, lest the utterance should prove offensive to this arrogant minority, so long accustomed to rule the majority. The people are full of generous enthusiasm for their country. If the polar star of a great idea were presented to them, they would follow it with eager courage through suffering and death. But it seems to be the aim of politicians to create a fog so dense that neither star nor sunlight shall glimmer through it to guide the millions, who are longing to be led in the right direction.

Is *this* a time to let the sacred fire smoulder on the altar of freedom? On the contrary, there has never been a time when it was more necessary to watch it with vigilance, and feed it with untiring activity.

We, Abolitionists, still have unwavering faith that "a straight line is always the shortest, in morals as well as in mathematics." Politicians are always in need of being convinced of this obvious truth; and they are peculiarly in need of it now. Let us, then, continue to work for the good old cause in every way that is consistent with our own conscientious convictions. Let us meet together, that our hearts may be cheered and our hands strengthened for whatsoever work the God of the oppressed may call upon us to do.

All those who have faith in the principles of freedom, all who believe that the effect of righteousness would be peace and security for our unhappy country, are cordially and earnestly invited to meet us at the usual time and place in Boston, in January next. [Particulars hereafter.]

Contributions, and expressions of sympathy, from friends at home or abroad, in person or by letter, will be most thankfully received; for we have great need of both at this most momentous and trying crisis.

L. Maria Child,	Caroline M. Severance,
Mary May,	Mary Willey,
Louisa Loring,	Ann Rebecca Bramhall,
Henrietta Sargent,	Sarah P. Remond,
Sarah Russell May,	Mary E. Stearns,
Helen Eliza Garrison,	Sarah J. Nowell,
Anna Shaw Greene,	Elizabeth Von Arnim,
Sarah Blake Shaw,	Anne Langdon Alger,
Elizabeth Gay,	Eliza Apthorp,
Caroline Thayer,	Sarah Cowing,
Abby Kelley Foster,	Sarah H. Southwick,
Lydia D. Parker,	Mary Elizabeth Sargent,
Augusta G. King,	Sarah C. Atkinson,
Mattie Griffith,	Abby Francis,
Mary Jackson,	Mary Jane Parkman,
Evelina A. Smith,	Georgiana Otis,
Katherine E. Farnum,	Abby H. Stephenson.

Summary.

The Nashville-Louisville *Courier* states that S. P. Sewell, a Yankee school teacher at Memphis, has been arrested by the Committee of Safety, as a person inimical to the South.

Slaves in Washington Jail.—During the night which followed the issue of Mr. Seward's order, addressed to General McClellan, respecting the slaves in the city jail, nearly thirty of the imprisoned negroes were given up to white persons claiming to be their masters. This second outrage was perpetrated by one of the city officials, and will be looked into by order of the House of Representatives.

Keen Retort.—"Ah! I am very sorry for this rebellion; it prevents me going South," said an Englishman the other day, dining at a club in Philadelphia by invitation. "They tell me," he continued "that the American gentleman is only to be found at the South. How is that, pray? Can you explain it?" "I can't," replied his host; "it is no more to be explained than the statement so often made that there are gentlemen in England, but that none of them ever come to this country!"

John Tyler's Residence.—An old Point correspondent writes: Ex-President Tyler's residence at Hampton, is now occupied by "fugitives from labor." There are several families in the house. The basement is occupied as a contraband school-house. To-day when I rode out to see the house I found the school in session. Took a look, and my eyes scarcely ever beheld so interesting a sight. There stood about fifty little black children as eagerly pursuing their studies as any children could; and up in the midst of the crowd stood a well built, honest and bright looking man—a contraband too—who, although a slave, learned to read and write by taking books from his "massa's children" and going away to the woods where he would sit alone, and thus, after years of perseverance, he has become able to instruct others.

Gen. Sherman's Folly.—The Port Royal correspondent of *The Tribune* says: "Carolina, having made up her mind for war, naturally regards the indecision and temporizing, coaxing policy of an invading General, as evidence only of imbecility. If Massachusetts held slaves, and had seceded for slavery's sake, and Beauregard had landed on her shores with fifteen thousand men, would he have tied his hands and strengthened hers by pledging to her anew the protection of constitutional safeguards? Carolina sees the mistake, despises it as a blunder, but of course avails herself of it as she would of any other military error. There is some reason to hope that Gen. Sherman himself is aware that his proclamation was a piece of folly, viewed militarywise, or politically, and he is too good a soldier to let a known blunder pass uncorrected. Certain it is, that throughout his army, there are not two opinions concerning the policy of the General commanding. Officers of every rank, and the men of every regiment, disapprove and regret it. I have not heard one expression in its favor, nor even an apology for its issue."

Special Notices.

Aaron M. Powell, Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture at

POUGHKEEPSIE, Ulster Co., Sunday, Dec. 22.
MELLENVILLE, N. Y., Friday, Dec. 27.
RED ROCK, New York, Sunday, Dec. 29.

Advertisements.

EDWARD GILBERT,
COUNSELLOR AT LAW,
NO. 60 WALL STREET,
NEW YORK.

THE GUILT OF SLAVERY AND THE CRIME OF SLAVEHOLDING, Demonstrated from the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures. By Rev. George B. Cheever, D.D., Pastor of the Church of the Puritans.
For sale at the Office of The Standard, No. 5 Beekman street, New York. Price $1. Postage 23 cents.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY HISTORY OF THE JOHN BROWN YEAR; being the Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the American Anti Slavery Society—is published and for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington street, Boston; 106 North Tenth street, Philadelphia; and 5 Beekman street, New York. Price 50 cents.

AMBROSE'S PATENT COAL OIL, NO-CHIMNEY BURNER for Portable Lamps, Lanterns, etc.—This burner has been very much improved, and now affords a light equal to four good sperm candles. The light is not as strong as that produced by the chimney lamp, but is softer, and more agreeable to the eye. It consumes less oil than the chimney lamp—one-half pint of good coal oil lasting twenty hours—and produces more light in proportion to the amount of oil it burns. It is free from odor and crusts the wick very little. The light is magnificent in lanterns. The wick used in this burner is the five eighth, same as used in No. 1 chimney burner. In the fall, one with one inch wick will be made, designed especially for a stand lamp. A small lantern burner, with a single cap, under a later patent, will soon be in market. This is so constructed that it can be put into all the fluid and oil lanterns in use, and must produce an entire revolution in lantern light.
AGENTS WANTED—to sell the same. Persons, by sending to the inventor 51 cents in new postage stamps, can have one sent them by mail. Address J. E. AMBROSE, Inventor, Jersey City, N. J., Or 249 Pearl street, New York.

Miscellaneous Department.

BIRDOFREDUM SAWIN, ESQ., TO MR. HOSEA BIGLOW.

It 's some consid'ble of a spell sence I hain't writ no letters,
An' ther' 's gret changes hez took place in all polit'cle metters:
Some canderdates air dead an' gone, an' some hez ben defeated,
Which 'mounts to pooty much the same; fer it 's ben proved repeated
A betch o' bread thet hain't riz once ain't goin' to rise agin,
An' it 's jest money throwed away to put the emptins in:
But thet 's wut folks wun't never larn; they dunno how to go,
Arter you want their room, no more 'n a bullet-headed beau;
Ther' 's ollers chaps a hangin' roun' thet can't see pea-time 's past,
Mis'ble ez roosters in a rain, heads down an' tails half-mast:
It ain't disgraceful bein' beat, when a holl nation does it,
But Chance is like an amberill—it don't take twice to lose it.

I spose you 're kin' o' cur'ous, now, to know why I hain't writ.
Wal, I 've ben where a litt'ry taste don't somehow seem to git
Th' encouragement a feller 'd think, thet 's used to public schools,
An' where sech things ez paper 'n' ink air clean agin the rules:
A kind o' vicyvarsy house, built dreffle strong an' stout,
So 's 't honest people can't git in, ner t' other sort git out,
An' with the winders so contrived, you 'd prob'ly like the view
Better a-lookin' in than out, though it seems sing'lar, tu;
But then the landlord sets by ye, can't hear ye out o' sight,
And locks ye up ez reg'lar ez an outside door at night.

This world is awfle contrary: the rope may stretch your neck
Thet mebby kep' another chap frum washin' off a wreck;
An' you will see the taters grow in one poor feller's patch,
So small no self-respectin' hen thet vallied time 'ould scratch,
So small the rot can't find 'em out, an' then agin, nex' door,
Ez big ez wut hogs dream on when they 're 'most too fat to snore.
But groutin' ain't no kin' o' use; an' ef the fust throw fails,
Why, up an' try agin, thet 's all—the coppers ain't all tails;
Though I *hev* seen 'em when I thought they hed n't no more head
Than 'd sarve a nussin' Brigadier thet gits some ink to shed.

When I writ last, I 'd ben turned loose by thet blamed nigger, Pomp,
Ferlorner than a musquash, ef you 'd took an' dreened his swamp:
But I ain't o' the meechin' kind, thet sets an' thinks fer weeks
The bottom 's out o' th' univarse coz their own gillpot leaks.
I hed to cross bayous an' criks (wal, it did beat all natur'),
Upon a kin' o' corderoy, fust log, then alligator;
Luck'ly the critters warn't sharp-shot; I guess 't wuz overruled
They 'd done their mornin's marketin' an' gut their hunger cooled;
Fer missionaries to the Creeks an' runaways air viewed
By them an' folks ez sent express to be their reg'lar food:
Wutever 't wuz, they laid an' snoozed ez peacefully ez sinners,
Meek ez disgestin' deacons be at ordination dinners;
Ef any on 'em turned an' snapped, I let 'em kin' o' taste
My live-oak leg, an' so, ye see, ther' warn't no gret o' waste,
Fer they found out in quicker time than ef they 'd ben to college
'T warn't heartier food than though 't wuz made out o' the tree o' knowledge.
But *I* tell *you* my other leg hed larned wut pizon-nettle meant,
An' var'ous other useful things, afore I reached a settlement,
An' all o' me thet wuz n't sore an' sendin' prickles thru me
Wuz jest the leg I parted with in lickin' Montezumy:
A useful limb it 's ben to me, an' more of a support
Than wut the other hez ben—coz I dror my pension for 't.

Wal, I gut in at last where folks wuz civerlized an' white,
Ez I diskivered to my cost afore 't wuz hardly night;
Fer 'z I wuz settin' in the bar a-takin' suthin' hot,
An' feelin' like a man agin, all over in one spot,
A feller thet sot opposite, arter a squint at me,
Lep up an' drawed his peacemaker, an', "Dash it, Sir," suz he,
"I'm doubledashed ef you ain't him thet stole my yaller chettle,
(You 're all the stranger thet 's around), so now you 've gut to settle;
It ain't no use to argerfy ner try to cut up frisky,
I know ye ez I know the smell o' ole chain-lightnin' whiskey;
We 're lor-abidin' folks down here, we 'll fix ye so 's 't a bar
Would n' tech ye with a ten-foot pole; (Jedge, you jest warm the tar;)
You 'll think you 'd better ha' gut among a tribe o' Mongrel Tartars,
'Fore we 've done showin' how we raise our Southun prize tar-martyrs;
A moultin' fallen cherubim, ef he should see ye, 'd snicker,
Thinkin' he hed n't nary chance. Come, genlemun, le' 's liquor;
An', Gin'ral, when you 've mixed the drinks an' chalked 'em up, tote roun'
An' see ef ther' 's a feather-bed (thet 's borryable) in town.
We 'll try ye fair, Ole Grafted-Leg, an' ef the tar wun't stick,
Th' ain't not a juror here but wut 'll 'quit ye double-quick."
To cut it short, I wun't say sweet, they gi' me a good dip,
(They ain't *perfessin'* Bahptists here) then give the bed a rip—
The [illegible], [illegible] quicker 'n a flash they hetched me out, a liv[illegible]
Extemp[illegible] turkey-chick fer a Feejee Thanksgi[illegible]

Thet I felt some stuck up is wut it 's nat'ral to suppose,
When poppylar enthusiasm hed furnished me sech clo'es;
(Ner 't ain't without edvantiges, this kin' o' suit, ye see,
It 's water-proof, an' water 's wut I like kep' out o' me;)
But nut content with thet, they took a kerridge from the fence
An' rid me roun' to see the place, entirely free 'f expense,
With forty-'leven new kines o' sarse without no charge acquainted me,
Gi' me three cheers, an' vowed thet I wuz all their fahncy painted me;
They treated me to all their eggs; (they keep 'em, I should think,
Fer sech ovations, pooty long, for they wuz mos' distinc';)
They starred me thick 'z the Milky-Way with indiscrim'nit cherity,
For wut we call reception eggs air sunthin' of a rerity;
Green ones is plentifle anough, skurce wuth a nigger's getherin',
But your dead-ripe ones ranges high fer treatin' Nothun bretherin:
A spotteder, ringstreakeder child the' warn't in Uncle Sam's
Holl farm—a cross of stripèd pig an' one o' Jacob's lambs;
'T wuz Dannil in the lions' den, new an' enlarged edition,
An' everythin' fust-rate o' 'ts kind, the' warn't no impersition.
People 's impulsiver down here than wut our folks to home be,
An' kin' o' go it 'ith a resh in raisin' Hail Colnmby:
Thet 's so; an' they swarmed out like bees, for your real Southun men's
Time is n't o' much more account than an ole settin' hen's;
(They jest work semioccashnally, or else don't work at all,
An' so their time an' 'tention both air at saci'ty's call.)
Talk about hospitality! wut Nothun town d' ye know
Would take a totle stranger up an' treat him gratis so?
You 'd better b'lieve ther' 's nothin' like this spendin' days an' nights
Along 'ith a dependent race fer civerlizin' whites.

But this wuz all prelim'nary; it 's so Gran' Jurors here
Fin' a true bill, a hendier way than ourn, an' nut so dear;
So arter this they sentenced me, to make all tight 'n' snug,
Afore a reg'lar court o' law, to ten years in the Jug.
I did n' make no gret defence: you don't feel much like speakin',
When, ef you let your clamshells gape, a quart o' tar will leak in:
I *hev* hearn tell o' wingèd words, but pint o' fact it tethers
The spoutin' gift to hev your words tu thick sot on with feathers,
An' Choate ner Webster would n't ha' made an A 1 kin' o' speech
Astride a Southun chestnut horse sharper 'n a baby screech.
Two year ago they ketched the thief, 'n' seein' I wuz innercent,
They jest uncorked an' le' me run, an' in my stid the sinner sent
To see how *he* liked pork 'n' pone flavored with wa'nut saplin',
An' nary social priv'ledge but a one-hoss, starn-wheel chaplin.
When I come out, the folks behaved mos' gen'manly an' harnsome;
They 'lowed it would n't be more 'n right, ef I should cuss 'n' darn some:
The Cunnle he apolergized; suz he, "I 'll du wut 's right,
I 'll give ye settisfection now by shootin' ye at sight,
An' give the nigger (when he 's caught), to pay him fer his trickin'
In gittin' the wrong man took up, a most H fired lickin'—
It 's jest the way with all on 'em, the inconsistent critters,
They 're 'most enough to make a man blaspheme his mornin' bitters;
I 'll be your frien' thru thick an' thin an' in all kines o' weathers,
An' all you 'll hev to pay fer 's jest the waste o' tar an' feathers:
A lady owned the bed, ye see, a widder, tu, Miss Shennon;
It wuz her mite; we would ha' took another, ef ther 'd ben one:
We don't make *no* charge for the ride an' all the other fixins.
Le' 's liquor; Gin'ral, you can chalk our friend for all the mixins."
A meetin' then wuz called, where they "RESOLVED, Thet we respec'
B. S. Esquire for quallerties o' heart an' intellec'
Peculiar to Columby's sile, an' not to no one else's,
Thet makes Européan tyrans scringe in all their gilded pel'ces,
An' doos gret honor to our race an' Southun institootions":
(I give ye jest the substance o' the leadin' resolootions:)
"RESOLVED, Thet we revere in him a soger 'thout a flor,
A martyr to the princerples o' libbaty an' lor:
RESOLVED, Thet other nations all, ef sot 'longside o' us,
For vartoo, larnin', chivverly, ain't nowhere wuth a cuss."
They gut up a subscription, tu, but no gret come o' *that;*
I 'xpect in cairin' of it roun' they took a leaky hat;
Though Southun genelmun ain't slow at puttin' down their name,
(When they can write,) fer in the eend it comes to jest the same,
Because, ye see, 't 's the fashion here to sign an' not to think
A critter 'd be so sordid ez to ax 'em for the chink:
I did n't call but jest on one, an' *he* drawed toothpick on me,
An' reckoned he warn't goin' to stan' no sech dog-gauned econ'my;
So nothin' more wuz realized, 'ceptin' the good-will shown,
Than ef 't had ben from fust to last a reg'lar Cotton Loan.
It 's a good way, though, come to think, coz ye enjy the sense
O' lendin' lib'rally to the Lord, an' nary red o' 'xpense:
Sence then I 've gut my name up for a gin'rous-hearted man
By jes' subscribin' right an' left on this high-minded plan;
I 've gin away my thousans so to every Southun sort
O' missions, colleges, an' sech, ner ain't no poorer for 't.

I warn't so bad off, arter all; I need n't hardly mention
That guv'ment owed me quite a pile for my arrears o' pension—
I mean the poor, weak thing we *hed;* we run a new one now,
Thet strings a feller with a claim up tu the nighest bough,
An' *prectises* the rights o' man, purtects down-trodden debtors,
Ner wun't hev creditors about a-scroungin' o' their betters:
Jeff 's gut the last idees ther' is, poscrip', fourteenth edition,
He knows it takes some enterprise to run an opposition;
Ourn 's the fust thru-by daylight train, with all ou'doors for deepot;
Yourn goes so slow you 'd think 't wuz drawed by a last cent'ry teapot;
Wal, I gut all on 't paid in gold afore our State seceded,
An' done wal, for Confed'rit bonds warn't jest the cheese I needed:
Nut but wut they 're ez *good* ez gold, but then it 's hard a-breakin' on 'em,
An' ignorant folks is ollers sot an' wun't git used to takin' on 'em;
They 're wuth ez much ez wut they wuz afore ole Mem'nger signed 'em,
An' go off middlin' wal for drinks, when ther' 's a knife behind 'em;
We *du* miss silver, jest fer thet an' ridin' in a bus,
Now we 've shook off the despots thet wuz suckin' at our pus;
An' it 's *because* the South 's so rich; 't wuz nat'ral to expec'
Supplies o' change wuz jest the things we should n't recollec';
We 'd ough' to ha' thought aforehan', though, o' thet good rule o' Crockett's,
For 't 's tiresome cairin' cotton-bales an' niggers in your pockets,
Ner 't ain't quite hendy to pass off one o' your six-foot Guineas
An' git your halves an' quarters back in gals an' pickaninnies:
Wal, 't ain't quite all a feller 'd ax, but then ther' 's this to say,
It 's on'y jest among ourselves thet we expec' to pay;
Our system would ha' caired us thru in any Bible cent'ry,
'Fore this onscripterl plan come up o' books by double entry;
We go the patriarkle here out o' all sight an' hearin',
For Jacob warn't a circumstance to Jeff at financierin';
He never 'd thought o' borryin' from Esau like all nater
An' then cornfiscatin' all debts to sech a small pertater;
There 's p'litickle econ'my, now, combined 'ith morril beauty
Thet saycrifices privit eends (your in'my's, tu) to dooty!
Wy, Jeff 'd ha' gin him five an' won his eye-teeth 'fore he knowed it,
An', stid o' wastin' pottage, he 'd ha' eat it up an' owed it.

But I wuz goin' on to say how I come here to dwall;
'Nough said, thet, arter lookin' roun', I liked the place so wal,
Where niggers does a double good, with us atop to stiddy 'em,
By bein' proofs o' prophecy an' cirkleatin' medium,
Where a man 's sunthin' coz he 's white, an' whiskey 's cheap ez fleas,
An' the financial pollercy jest sooted my idees,
Thet I friz down right where I wuz, merried the Widder Shennon,
(Her thirds wuz part in cotton-land, part in the curse o' Canaan,)
An' here I be ez lively ez a chipmunk on a wall,
With nothin' to feel riled about much later 'n Eddam's fall.

Ez fur ez human foresight goes, we made an even trade:
She gut an overseer, an' I a fem'ly ready-made,
(The youngest on 'em 's 'most growed up,) rugged an' spry ez weazles,
So 's 't ther' 's no resk o' doctors' bills fer hoopin'-cough an' measles.
Our farm 's at Turkey-Buzzard Roost, Little Big Boosy River,
Wal located in all respex—fer 't ain't the chills 'n' fever
Thet makes my writin' seem to squirm; a Southuner 'd allow I 'd
Some call to shake, for I 've jest hed to meller a new cowhide.
Miss S. is all 'f a lady; th' ain't no better on Big Boosy,
Ner one with more accomplishmunts 'twixt here an' Tuscaloosy;
She 's an F. F., the tallest kind, an' prouder 'n the Gran' Turk,
An' never hed a relative thet done a stroke o' work;
Hern ain't a scrimpin' fem'ly sech ez *you* git up Down East,
Th' ain't a growed member on 't but owes his thousans et the least:
She *is* some old; but then agin ther' 's drawbacks in my sheer:
Wut 's left o' me ain't more 'n enough to make a Brigadier:
The wust is, she hez tantrums; she 's like Seth Moody's gun
(Him thet wuz nicknamed frum his limp Ole Dot an' Kerry One);
He 'd left her loaded up a spell, an' hed to git her clear,
So he onhitched—Jerusalem! the middle o' last year
Wuz right nex' door compared to where she kicked the critter tu
(Though *jest* where he brought up wuz wut no human never knew);
His brother Asaph picked her up an' tied her to a tree,
An' then she kicked an hour 'n' a half afore she 'd let it be:
Wal, Miss S. *doos* hev cuttin's-up an' pourin's-out o' vials,
But then she hez her widder's thirds, an' all on us hez trials.
My objec', though, in writin' now warn't to allude to sech,
But to another suckemstance more dellykit to tech—
I want thet you should grad'lly break my merriage to Jerushy,
An' ther' 's a heap of argymunts thet 's emple to indooce ye:
Fust place, State's Prison—wal, it 's true it warn't fer crime, o' course,
But then it 's jest the same fer her in gettin' a divorce;
Nex' place, my State 's seceedin' out hez leg'lly lef' me free
To merry any one I please, pervidin' it 's a she;
Fin'lly, I never wun't come back, she need n't hev no fear on 't,
But then it 's wal to fix things right fer fear Miss S. should hear on 't;
Lastly, I 've gut religion South, an' Rushy she 's a pagan
Thet sets by th' graven imiges o' the gret Nothun Dagon;
(Now I hain't seen one in six munts, for, sence our Treashry Loan,
Though yaller boys is thick anough, eagles hez kind o' flown;)
An' ef J. wants a stronger pint than them thet I hev stated,
Wy, she 's an alien in'my now, an' I 've ben cornfiscated—
For sence we 've entered on th' estate o' the late nayshnul eagle,
She hain't no kin' o' right but jest wut I allow ez legle:
Wut *doos* Secedin' mean, ef 't ain't thet nat'rul rights hez riz, 'n'
Thet wut is mine 's my own, but wut 's another man's ain't his'n?

Besides, I could n't do no else; Miss S. suz she to me,
"You 've sheered my bed," [Thet 's when I paid my interduction fee
To Southun rites,] "an' kep' your sheer," [Wal, I allow it sticked
So 's 't I wuz most six weeks in jail afore I gut me picked,]
"Ner never paid no demmiges; but thet wun't do no harm,
Pervidin' thet you 'll ondertake to oversee the farm;
(My eldes' boy is so took up, wut with the Ringtail Rangers
An' settin' in the Jestice-Court for welcomin' o' straangers;')
[He sot on *me*;] "an' so, ef you 'll jest ondertake the care
Upon a mod'rit sellery, we 'll up an' call it square;
But ef you *can't* conclude," suz she, an' give a kin' o' grin,
"Wy, the Gran' Jury, I expect, 'll hev to set agin."
Thet 's the way metters stood at fust; now wut wuz I to du,
But jest to make the best on 't an' off coat an' buckle tu?
Ther' ain't a livin' man thet finds an income necessarier
Than me—bimeby I 'll tell ye how I fin'lly come to merry her.

She hed another motive, tu: I mention of it here
T' encourage lads thet 's growin' up to study 'n' persevere,
An' show 'em how much better 't pays to mind their winter schoolin'
Than to go off on benders 'n' sech, an' waste their time in foolin';
Ef 't warn't for studyin' evenins, I never 'd ha' ben here
An orn'ment o' saciety, in my approprut spere:
She wanted somebody, ye see, o' taste an' cultivation,
To talk along o' preachers when they stopt to the plantation;
Our folks in Dixie th't read an' write, onless it is by jarks,
Is skurce ez wut they wuz among th' oridgenal patriarchs;
To fit a feller f' wut they call the soshle higherarchy,
All thet you 've gut to know is jest beyund an evrage darky;
Schoolin' 's wut they can't seem to stan', they 're tu consarned high-pressure,
An' knowin' t' much might spile a boy for bein' a Secesher.
We hain't no settled preachin' here, ner ministeril taxes;
The min'ster's only settlement 's the carpet-bag he packs his
Razor an' soap-brush intu, with his hymbook an' his Bible—
But they *du* preach, I swan to man, it 's puf'kly indescrib'le!
They go it like an Ericsson's ten-hoss-power coleric ingine,
An' make Ole Split-Foot winch an' squirm, for all he 's used to singein';
Hawkins's whetstone ain't a pinch o' primin' to the innards
To hearin' on 'em put free grace t' a lot o' tough old sinhards.

But I must eend this letter now: 'fore long I 'll send a fresh un;
I 've lots o' things to write about, perticklerly Seceshun:
I 'm called off now to mission-work, to let a leetle law in
To Cynthy's bide: an' so, till deth,
Yourn,
BIRDOFREDUM SAWIN.

—*Atlantic Monthly for January.*

THE DUKE OF ARGYLE ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

From an English paper.

THE Duke of Argyle was entertained at a grand banquet in Inverary, by his tenantry. The banquet was held in the Argyle Arms Hotel, Rev. Colin Smith, D.D., in the chair. Nearly eighty gentlemen sat down to an elegant repast. The formal toasts having been disposed of, the Chairman, in an eulogistic speech, proposed the health of their noble guest, which was enthusiastically responded to. The Duke of Argyle, in replying, took occasion to advert to the present state of affairs in America. He said:

"I see that there has been some fear expressed lately that the inconvenience which is likely to arise in this country from the contest in America is so great that there will be a pressure yet upon the government to interfere in that contest, or at least to take some steps which may ultimately involve us in it. I have too high an opinion of the good sense and of the public principle of the people of this country to believe that any such pressure will be put upon the government; and I must add that I have too great confidence in the firmness and public principle of the government and Parliament of this country to believe that they will be willing to submit to such pressure if it were put upon them. It is our absolute duty, I need hardly tell you, *to remain entirely neutral in that contest,* and not only is it our duty to remain neutral as regards action, but I think it is to a very great extent our duty even to abstain from offering advice, though it might be conceived in a kind and friendly spirit. No good whatever can arise from offering such advice as that, for example, which was lately offered, I have no doubt with the best intentions, by the Emperor of Russia to the contending parties in America. The answer which the Americans will infallibly give to any such interference will, however civilly expressed, virtually amount to this: 'We are much obliged to you for your kind advice. We have no doubt that it is conceived in the best spirit, and with the best intentions; but there is a general rule in this world, that every man should attend to his own affairs. And there is this additional reason for doing so in the present case, that it is quite evident that you don't understand ours.' This is the answer which virtually the Americans have actually given, and which, I am convinced, they will continue to give, to all such counsel. Because, after all, the truth is this, that mere general advice, to compose their differences, without any specific suggestion as to the terms upon which those differences are to be adjusted, is always held by the Americans to imply indirectly, even though it be not intended, that the objects for which they are contending are either unworthy or at least trivial and unimportant. Now, whatever we may think of that contest, in fairness to our American friends, we ought to admit that no more tremendous issues were ever submitted to the dread arbitrament of war than those which are now submitted to it upon the American continent. I do not care whether we look at it from a Northern or from the Southern point of view. Take the mere question of what is called the right of secession. I know of no government which has ever existed in the world that could possibly have admitted the right of secession from its own allegiance. There is a curious animal in Lochfine which I have sometimes dredged up from the bottom of the sea, and which performs the most extraordinary, innocent, and able acts of suicide and self-destruction. It is a peculiar kind of star-fish, which, when brought up from the bottom of the water, and when any attempt is made to take hold of it, immediately throws off all its arms—its very centre breaks up, and nothing remains of one of the most beautiful forms in nature but a thousand wriggling fragments. Such undoubtedly would have been the fate of the American Union if its government had admitted what is called the right of secession. Gentlemen, I think we ought to admit, in fairness to the Americans, that there are some things worth fighting for, and that national existence is one of these. And then, gentlemen, if we go to the South, if we look at the matter from the Southern point of view, difficult as it may be for us to do so, I must say also that I am not surprised at their conduct. If they believe, as they loudly proclaim that they do believe, that slavery is not an evil which is to be tolerated only, and brought to an end as soon as possible, but a Divine institution for the benefit of mankind, to be maintained, and if possible extended, and which, if it is assailed even in a single outpost, must be defended to the death, then, even though the citadel of slavery be not assailed, but only an important outwork, then it is but natural that the South should raise in its defence. But, of course, in this as in all other revolutions, those who take part in them must be judged finally by the moral verdict of mankind upon the justice of the cause which they have risen to assert. But whatever may be our private sympathies, we, as a nation, must take no part whatever in the contest. Most earnestly do we trust and pray that it may be brought to a speedy end; yet I confess that there is another wish which I think in our mind ought to stand even before this one, and that is the wish that the end of this war, whenever it does come, be it soon or late, may be such as shall be worth the sacrifice and the cost—such as shall tend to the civilization of the world, and promote the cause of human freedom.

MEETING IN BEHALF OF AMERICAN INDIANS.

AT a meeting of the friends of the Indians, held in New York on the 9th inst., E. WEBSTER, Esq., was called to the chair, and W. C. Gould elected Secretary.

Dr. GOULD stated the object of the meeting, and introduced Judge Wattles of Kansas.

Mr. WATTLES said: The American nation cannot afford to lose the Indian race. The earth sees no other like it. So much of calm courage, so much of native eloquence, so much of true nobility, so much of unselfish friendship, is not found in any other race or people. There are in Kansas the remnants of fifteen tribes, once part owners of this Western continent, now living on small reserves, secured by treaties with the United States. These tribes, having sold out their interest in the States, moved to Kansas from twenty to thirty years ago. Congress acted generously with them, giving large domains and liberal annuities. But the Administration being in the interest of slavery, all the Indian agents, so far as I can learn, were ultra pro-slavery men, and looked upon the Indians as they do upon the negroes—fair subjects for speculation and fraud. So far has this been carried, that several tribes have become nearly extinct by disease and starvation, in consequence of their privations, while in reality they were a healthy people, and supposed to be living in affluence. The various tribes in Kansas have attained to different degrees of progress and civilized customs. The Sac and Fox Indians are the old Black Hawk tribes, and are a brave and noble race of men. Twenty years ago, after the Black Hawk war, the government purchased their lands in Iowa, giving them about 400,000 acres in Kansas and an annuity of $81,000 per annum for ten years and $71,000 per annum since. They also set apart a large sum for improvements. Eighteen years ago, when fairly settled on this land, they numbered 2,800. I was sent there as a special agent last spring to examine into their affairs, and I found only 890 persons alive, and not a farm nor a yoke of oxen, nor a cow, calf, or pig in the tribe, and only two small ploughs. Not one full blood who dressed in citizens' costume or spoke the English language, and traders claiming debts of them for goods amounting to about $150,000. To pay this debt, they have already treated away a large part of their domain. Here is a tribe without a fault—the government aiming to deal generously with them, having spent on them, including salaries of agents, over $1,500,000 for civil purposes during their residence in Kansas—now nearly extinct, having been reduced by sickness and starvation at the rate of more than a hundred a year over and above the births for the last eighteen years. This has been done by an arrangement of the traders with the Agent, by which goods have been sold, including provisions and groceries, at an exorbitant price, thus absorbing the money of the Indians, which seldom, if ever, passed into their hands. I found at the Sac and Fox agency a very interesting state of things concerning secession and the Southern rebellion. Gen. Rains, who commands one division of the Southern army in Missouri, was once Indian Agent here; so were Judge Chenault of Carthage, Mo., and Judge James of Westport, all now active Secessionists. The former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. Greenwood, and his son-in-law, Hobbs, living in Arkansas, and warm secessionists, are largely interested in the contracts and lands of the Sac and Fox Indians. These men, being well acquainted in Washington with the old clerks of the Indian Department, received for some time during the spring and summer valuable information of our army news, and all that could be communicated of the purposes of the Department concerning the Indians, which has enabled them successfully to thwart the beneficent purposes of our government. At the close of Mr. Buchanan's Administration, Mr. Greenwood made a contract with parties, amounting to about $200,000, to build houses for the Sac and Fox and Kansas Indians. It is estimated that one half of this is profits, which is to be divided between the ostensible contracter and the second parties, Greenwood, Hobbs & Co. The Indians protested loudly and long against such poor temporary dwellings on their lands. They were not built when they wanted them, nor were they such as they wanted, and they declare they will never occupy them. A large part of the tribe are anxious to sell out and move South, in the hope of escaping further annoyance. Were there time, I could go into details showing the ruin brought upon the Indians, and their consequent extinction to be the natural result of such causes. They being ignorant of the English language, it is very difficult to understand them perfectly, and consequently they are great sufferers in many ways. Last fall the Agent defrauded them out of $1,000 at the time of payment by making them receipt for more than they received. They lose large amounts of property by theft, which they cannot recover in our Courts by law. Other tribes have lost large sums of money merely by the dishonesty of Agents. The Indians being looked upon by the popular mind as aliens and enemies, these atrocities are but partially condemned, and the rogues go unpunished. For twenty years past the doings of the Indian Department have been as secret as the Inquisition, and also as cruel. They have compelled the Indians to assent to treaties made by fraud, or made wholly in Washington without consulting the tribes for which they were designed, and have forced an unwilling obedience. When large sums of money have been awarded to the Indians for a valuable consideration, the parties intrusted with its disbursement have taken large sums, and thus deprived the Indians of all means of shelter or agricultural improvement. Our present Commissioner of Indian Affairs will undoubtedly break up this whole system of swindling, so far as it can be officially done; but many things will remain which he will not be able to reach in his best efforts. The Indian reserves are like small islands in the ocean, soon to be swallowed up by the rising tide of immigration, and the Indians in them seek safety by flight. Several tribes have commenced settlements in the Indian territories south of Kansas, and have sent petitions to the government to assign them land there and to allow them to remove on to it. The Commissioner suggested whether, in order to save the Indians, it would not be better to organize them into one nation, on a common territory. I made inquiry, and found that most of them desired it. This will not only save them as a people, but will reduce the annual Indian expenditures of the government several millions. An estimate of the annual expenditure of the government in various ways on account of Indians has been made, amounting to from $7,000,000, to $10,000,000 for the last forty years. If this estimate is correct (of which I have no doubt), I venture to assume that if the foregoing policy should be adopted toward the Indians, the vast sum of from 5,000,000 to 7,000,000 per annum can be saved to the government.

Many more interesting facts were stated respecting other tribes, after which the following preamble and resolutions were presented:

Whereas, The efforts of the government of the United States heretofore made for the benefit of the Indian tribes of this continent have failed to produce results commensurate with the large amount of money expended and the civil and military means employed; whereas, such failure can be attributed to an imperfect knowledge of Indian character, and a consequent misadaptation of means to ends; therefore,

Resolved, That there should now be devised and adopted the changes, revisions, and modifications of the policy and laws of the government concerning the Indians which past experience and present knowledge indicate as necessary, to enable the beneficent designs of the people and government concerning them to be realized.

Resolved, That the idea of the utter extinction of the Indian race on this continent, as a fixed destiny, is utterly fallacious and ought to be at once discarded; and we cordially invite all politicians and philanthropists who aim at a higher philosophy than popular prejudice, to carefully examine the causes which have operated against them and led to their present condition.

Resolved, That for their use we would recommend the country lying south of Kansas, known as the Indian Territory, be set apart as a national domain for the Indians, and that each of the partially civilized tribes now in Kansas, Nebraska, or other State or Territory, be allotted a tract of land in said domain, in size proportioned to the numbers in the tribe, and the said tract be designated a county, after the name of the tribe inhabiting it.

Resolved, That the government should take measures, through its agents, to induce a complete confederation of said tribes into a nation, to remain perpetually under its protection, and to be represented in the Congress of the United States by Delegates, after the manner of other Territories; and that said nation or confederacy be organized by representatives from each tribe in an Indian Council, and that the Constitution and laws passed by said Council shall be binding upon all the members of said Confederacy, after their approval by a majority of the United States agents residing with the Confederate Tribes. It should also be the duty of the said agents, in addition to their ordinary duties, to form themselves into an Advisory Board of Indian Counsellors, holding sessions not less than once in each year, to advise the Indian Congress or Council of the policy of the United States concerning them, and to the end that the enactments of the Confederacy may not conflict with said policy, or with the laws of the United States, and that in their bearings upon the several tribes they may be equal, and calculated to encourage agriculture, the mechanic arts, common schools, and internal improvements; and we recommend that at least two Chiefs from each tribe, with an interpreter, be invited to Washington to consult and agree upon measures of policy to be pursued in the future which shall be mutually beneficial to all, and in harmony with the above recommendations.

Resolved, That with sufficient encouragement, and under proper laws and regulations, the Indians would produce sufficient food for their own consumption, and become large purchasers of the manufactures of the United States.

Resolved, That as much of the improvement done on speculation for the Indians is contrary to their usages and wishes, and is repudiated by them as a useless waste of their funds, we would recommend, in order to conciliate and secure their coöperation, that whatever buildings and improvements the government may hereafter make for them should be made in harmony with their own views, after a full and fair understanding. And we would respectfully suggest that any system of improvement, to benefit the Indians, must commend itself to their understanding and secure their coöperation. Whatever is done for them mentally must be done by gradually superseding their present state—by educating their children—by inducing a respect for women—by sympathy with them in their low intellectual and moral condition—and by acting with them for their elevation and improvement in the line of their prejudices and tribal relations.

Resolved, That for their further protection a revision of the Intercourse law is demanded, and also the entire abolition of the present system of licensed traders; substituting therefor a wholesale system, leaving the distribution of the goods furnished by government to the Indians themselves and the clerks whom they may employ.

Resolved, That the Indian Domains should be inviolable, and residence thereon under control of the tribes occupying them. They should always use their just authority in the enactment of such laws and infliction of such pains and penalties as will prevent trespassers thereon, in order that residents may be of their own choosing, and marauding borderers kept out.

Resolved, That we look with sorrow and shame on the harassing and plundering of the Indians in times past, and their consequent suffering and death; and as this nation has no longer reason to fear them as enemies, we confidently expect the present Administration will exercise a wise statesmanship and a generous policy in making arrangements for their future peace and prosperity.

Whereas, Augustus Wattles, Esq., of Kansas, late Special Indian Agent of the government to examine into the present condition of the Indian tribes in Kansas and report facts upon which to base future government action with reference to their interest and civilization, which mission he has successfully performed, and

Whereas, Some of the said tribes subsequently delegated him to proceed to Washington to represent the injuries and outrages suffered by them, and to endeavor to procure justice and protection for them; therefore,

Resolved, That we heartily sympathize with him in his labors for the benefit of the Indians, and that a Committee be appointed as a delegation to Washington, and they are hereby requested and instructed to coöperate with him in his efforts to procure such action on the part of the government as will be likely to result in the benefit of the Indians.

Resolved, That Marcus Spring, Esq., Dr. Richard Hinman, Marquis D. Moor, Tappen Townsend, Dr. W. C. Gould, Chas. Sears, Dr. John T. S. Smith, Geo. P. Putnam, and Joseph T. White, be a committee to present these resolutions to Congress and endeavor to secure successful action thereon, and that this committee have power to fill vacancies, to add to their number and call a future meeting.

The foregoing preamble and resolutions, having been fully discussed by different members of the meeting, were unanimously adopted.

E. WEBSTER, Chairman.

W. C. GOULD, Secretary.

The following memorial was then recommended to the friends of the Indians for their signature:

We, the undersigned citizens of New York, respectfully petition the Congress of the United States to pass such laws as are necessary for the protection and improvement of the Indians, and in harmony with the accompanying resolutions.

NOTE.—All persons friendly to the Indians are desired to cut the foregoing petition and resolutions, attach paper for signatures, procure signers, and forward the same as soon as possible to their Representatives in Congress, or to the Hon. Augustus Wattles, Washington, D. C. All newspapers friendly to the objects of the meeting are respectfully requested to publish these proceedings.

COAL AND COAL MINING IN GREAT BRITAIN.

[The London *Quarterly Review* for October has an article of a very full, minute, and thorough character upon the Coal mines of Great Britain, their management and working, the probable supply for the future, and the population engaged in mining. It is plainly from the hand of one well acquainted with the subject, careful in his statements, and entitled to confidence. The following facts and estimates are gathered from it.]

THE value of the coal annually mined in Great Britain, at the pit's mouth, is £17,000,000 (over eighty millions of dollars). About fifteen millions of dollars more are expended annually in the transportation of this coal to the various ports and markets in the kingdom. The annual quantity mined, at a moderate calculation, is 70,000,000 (seventy millions) of tons. The capital engaged and invested in the business (to say nothing of the value of the mines) is over £20,000,000—one hundred million of dollars. The principal mines are in the Counties of Durham and Northumberland, in North and South Wales, and Scotland; but large quantities are mined in other parts of the country. What is commonly called the "Newcastle coal-field" is about 48 miles long, and 24 broad in the widest place—the entire area being about 750 square miles. In the 2 Counties first named, there are now 283 collieries. The amount of *the best coal* (such as is commonly shipped to the London market) is limited, and will be exhausted, as is estimated, in from 250 to 350 years. The mines are liable to be flooded with water. The famous Wallsend mine has been useless for years, on this account. Vast sums are annually expended upon the apparatus for pumping out the water from the various mines. At one colliery in Durham £300,000 were expended merely in getting at the coal—chiefly in pumping out the floods of water which rushed in; 27 sets of pumps were employed, 39 steam-boilers, and steam-engines equal to 1584 horse power. Mr. Vivian, in the House of Commons, has undertaken to show that the great coal field of South Wales is adequate to supplying all England with coal for 500 years. The writer in the *Quarterly* dissents, and thinks, with Mr. Hall, that the entire available supply of all the known coal mines in England and Wales is sufficient for about one thousand years—not much more. In this estimate, the Scotch coal fields are not included, which have not been carefully surveyed; but they are known to be very extensive, and are believed adequate to the supply of the whole country for upwards of 2,000 years. The grounds on which Mr. Vivian's estimate of 5,000 years is disputed by the *Quarterly* are these two: 1. The high temperature; and 2, the increased pressure of the mass overhead, after going beyond a certain depth into the earth. The deepest mines now worked do not exceed 2,000 feet in depth, and the writer thinks that so much as another thousand feet will not be practicable; whereas, to obtain the coal needful to sustain Mr. Vivian's estimate, mining must be carried to a depth of not less than 5,000 feet. At 50 feet below the surface of the ground, the standard temperature is from 50 to 55 deg., Fahrenheit; the temperature increases at the rate of 1 deg. for every 60 feet in some cases—in others, for every 80 feet, or, a mean of 70 feet. On this basis, at 2,000 feet the temperature would be increased 28 deg., or from 78 to 83 deg.; at 3,000 feet it would rise to 95 deg. (the *Quarterly* says 102 deg.); and at 4,000 feet, it would be about 112 deg. (or, according to the *Quarterly*, 120 deg.). The difference in the *Quarterly's* estimate arises from another element in the calculation, viz., the increased density of the air, as you go deeper into the ground, which is equivalent to an additional degree of temperature for every 300 feet of descent. Then "the pressure of superincumbent strata" becomes so tremendous that he thinks 2,500 feet the greatest vertical limit. "At 1,400 or 1,500 feet, to uphold the roof is a problem of ceaseless anxiety and expense." It is done by leaving pillars of the rock as the work proceeds, and by timbers. The whole area of the British coal fields is estimated at 5,400 square miles. It is added that "in the United States and British America" there are "200,000 square miles of coal area." Little or no machinery is used in excavating coal in Great Britain! "Human beings are the extractors and conveyors of the millions upon millions of tons ever on the road, the river, or the sea towards the great centres of population." The miners are a distinct and peculiar class. Government inspection, not yet thorough enough, has done much to improve their condition. According to this writer, there is no such thing as habitual living in the pits by families; but the workmen descend every morning, work 8 hours, and ascend again. About 250,000 persons are engaged in coal mining. A coal mine has its regular main-street, side-streets, etc., all of which are named, and a map or plan is kept at the counting-room of each colliery, and the place of every workman is known, and marked upon it. The improved Davy lamp is chiefly used in all well-managed collieries; but, to this day, in many of them the naked lamp is used! The greater number of all the accidents which occur are thus caused. The annual loss of life in the coal mines averages 1,000. The methods of ventilating the mines are various. Currents of air, drawn down into the mines, are *split*, and carried about in all quarters of the mine, by use of partitions, doors, etc., and are accelerated by a fire kept burning at the bottom of the up-cast, or exit, shaft. "In the great Hetton Colliery, the compulsory travels of the air equal about seventy miles from entrance to exit." Careful calculations show that each man and boy in the mines needs 250 *cubic feet of air every minute* to keep the atmosphere of the pit in a tolerably healthful condition. The constant escape of gases, the carburetted hydrogen (the miner's "fire-damp") being the most dangerous, is the principal source of danger, and renders this amount of ventilation necessary. Various explosions are recorded and explained, and methods of lessening their danger suggested. The whole number of collieries, in England and Wales, is 2,463; in Scotland, 413; in Ireland, 73. Total, 2,949. These are under government inspectors, whose authority and power are quite limited. Some few mining schools exist; but comparatively little has yet been done, to instruct the miners or their children, either in general knowledge, or in the particular branches of geology, chemistry, pneumatics, and the principles of safe illumination, which specially belong to their occupation. Sixteen District Associations "for encouraging sound elementary education by the offer of prizes to be competed for by candidates from schools already established" have been formed—embracing nearly the whole of the mining districts and some others.

THE CONTRABANDS' FREEDOM HYMN.

THE following curious hymn comes to us from the Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, who received it from the Missionary among the contrabands at Fortress Monroe. It will be seen that there is evidence in this hymn that the slaves in a considerable part of Virginia, at least, have had a superstitious faith in being freed some time in the future. The air to which the hymn is sung is in the minor key, and very plaintive:

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune:

SIR: I this evening received the accompanying song from the Rev. L. C. Lockwood, recently employed by the New York Men's Christian Association in its army work, and at present laboring under the auspices of the American Missionary Association, among the slaves at Fortress Monroe.

Mr. Lockwood publicly referred to this song during his late visit to this city, and upon his return to the Fortress took it down *verbatim* from the dictation of Carl Holloway, and other contrabands.

It is said to have been sung for at least fifteen or twenty years in Virginia and Maryland, and perhaps in all the slave States, though stealthily, for fear of the lash; and is now sung openly by the fugitives who are living under the protection of our government, and in the enjoyment of Mr. Lockwood's ministry.

The verses surely were not born from a love of bondage, and show that in a portion, if not in all of the South, the slaves are familiar with the history of the past, and are looking hopefully toward the future.

Yours respectfully,
New York, Dec. 2, 1861. HARWOOD VERNON.

LET MY PEOPLE GO.

A SONG OF THE "CONTRABANDS."

When Israel was in Egypt's land,
O let my people go!
Oppressed so hard they could not stand,
O let my people go!

CHORUS—O go down, Moses,
Away down to Egypt's land,
And tell King Pharaoh
To let my people go!

Thus saith the Lord, bold Moses said,
O let my people go!
If not, I'll smite your first-born dead,
O let my people go!

No more shall they in bondage toil,
O let my people go!
Let them come out with Egypt's spoil,
O let my people go!

Then Israel out of Egypt came,
O let my people go!
And left the proud oppressive land,
O let my people go!

O 'twas a dark and dismal night,
O let my people go!
When Moses led the Israelites,
O let my people go!

'Twas good old Moses, and Aaron, too,
O let my people go!
'Twas they that led the armies through,
O let my people go!

The Lord told Moses what to do,
O let my people go!
To lead the children of Israel through,
O let my people go!

O come along Moses, you'll not get lost,
O let my people go!
Stretch out your rod and come across,
O let my people go!

As Israel stood by the water side,
O let my people go!
At the command of God it did divide,
O let my people go!

When they had reached the other shore,
O let my people go!
They sang a song of triumph o'er,
O let my people go!

Pharaoh said he would go across,
O let my people go!
But Pharaoh and his host were lost,
O let my people go!

O Moses, the cloud shall cleave the way,
O let my people go!
A fire by night, a shade by day,
O let my people go!

You'll not get lost in the wilderness,
O let my people go!
With a lighted candle in your breast,
O let my people go!

Jordan shall stand up like a wall,
O let my people go!
And the walls of Jericho shall fall,
O let my people go!

Your foe shall not before you stand,
O let my people go!
And you'll possess fair Canaan's land,
O let my people go!

'Twas just about in harvest time,
O let my people go!
When Joshua led his host Divine,
O let my people go!

O let us all from bondage flee,
O let my people go!
And let us all in Christ be free,
O let my people go!

We need not always weep and mourn,
O let my people go!
And wear these Slavery chains forlorn,
O let my people go!

This world's a wilderness of woe,
O let my people go!
O let us on to Canaan go,
O let my people go!

What a beautiful morning that will be!
O let my people go!
When time breaks up in eternity,
O let my people go!

HISTORICAL RELICS OF THE WASHINGTON FAMILY.

From The Boston Journal.

THE visitors to the State House will notice that a portion of the marble flagging of the recess in which the statue of Washington stands has been taken up, and that two gray tombstones bearing the marks of extreme age are put in the place. These stones are perfect *fac similes* of those which, in the parish church of Bington, near Althorp, in England, cover the remains of the father and uncle of John Washington, the emigrant to Virginia, who was the grandfather of Washington. Charles Sumner, during his late visit to Europe, saw these inscriptions in the parish church, and Earl Spencer, the proprietor of Althorp, having been made acquainted with the interesting fact, caused the quarry, from which the original tablets were taken more than two centuries ago, to be sought out, and copies to be made which exactly represent the original. These were presented to Mr. Sumner, and by him to the State.

The largest stone was that which was placed over the remains of John Washington, the great-great-grandfather of our own Washington. It is a slab of bluish-gray sandstone, and measures five feet and nine inches long and two feet and seven inches broad. At the head are carved the arms of the Washingtons, with an additional quartering family. The family arms of the Washingtons have a combination of stripes and stars, and are by some supposed to have suggested our national flag. The following is the inscription on the stone:

"Here lieth the bodi of Lavrence Washington sonne and heire of Robert Washington of So[illegible]grave in the countie of Northampton Esquier who married Marg[illegible]et the eldest daughter of William Butler of Tees in the countie of Sussexe Esquire, who had issu by her 8 sonns and [illegible] daughters which Lavrence decessed the 13 of December A. Dni 1616.

"Thou that by chance or choyce
Of this hast sight
Know life to death resignes
As dayes to night;
But as the sunns retorne
Revives the day
So Christ shall us
Though turnde to dust & clay."

On the other stone is this inscription with the Washington arms on a plate of brass:

"Here lies interred ye bodies of Elizab. Washington widdowe who changed this life for immortalitie ye 19th of March 1622. As also ye body of Robert Washington gent. her late husband second sonne of Robert Washington of Solvgrave in ye county of North, Esqr. who depted this life ye 10th of March 1662. After they lived lovingly together many years in this parish."

As the stones are laid on the floor of the hall, one is smaller than the other, and the space thus left it is proposed to fill by an inscription explanatory of the facts we have related. These "Memorial Stones" are of much historic value as connected with the family history of the Father of his Country, and will be objects of interest to all visitors to our State Capitol. Above them stands Chantrey's well-known statue of him, through whose virtuous life and noble deeds all who bear his name have become dear to the American people, and whose fame illuminates the past even to the farthest generation of his ancestors.

HOW NOT TO DO IT.—Red tape is an essential element in human affairs. It will not do to hurry matters too much. If some mortals were to have their own wild way, they would have the millennium down upon us before we knew it. They would have war ended, slavery done away, the poor fed, the naked clothed, the inebriate cured, and New York made a clean and wholesome city by the Christmas of next year. But that would never do. It would make too terrible work to let on the full force of the Lord's Prayer and Golden Rule upon the world at once. "Thy will be done on earth as in heaven," but not before the year after next. "Thy kingdom come," but not till 1900. "Deliver us from evil," but not immediately, for, in that case, what would become of so many evil-doers? Othello's occupation would be gone, and how could he get a living then? The great object, therefore, should be, how to *seem* to do it, but *how not do it*. Flow forth, then, red tape, in endless sinuous coils, in church, in state. Thou art the mild string that ties up the parson's homily and the statesman's reports. By-and-bye, earth will be ready to receive her King; but not yet, not yet. In the elocution of this sentence, "Wait and see the salvation of the Lord;" be sure you emphasize WAIT.—*Christian Inquirer.*

Advertisements.

WATER CURE.—Sir E. Lytton Bulwer, writing from a Water Cure establishment, says: "Hydropathy or Water Cure, in the hands of educated and experienced physicians, is not only safe, but the safest of all modes of cure; and infinitely the most agreeable. It bequeaths none of the maladies consequent on the old systems, and is much simpler and pleasanter than any course of medicine."

The attention of Invalids is invited to the associated Water Cure Establishments on Franklin Square, Philadelphia, and at Chestnut Springs, eight miles from the city by railway, which are unsurpassed in beauty, healthfulness, and convenience of location, purity of water, and homelike appointments. Both are under the professional charge, and the one proprietorship of Dr James A. Zeigler and Dr. Charles Lodge, regular medical graduates of honorable standing and long practice, and who have had an experience of nearly fifteen years in Water Cure, without losing a patient in acute disease if called before drugs have been administered, and fully believe that if the Diathesis be at all fair, and the symptoms unaltered from their natural expression by drug medication, every acute disease must, under Water treatment, not only eventuate favorably in itself, but fulfil the kind intentions of Providence, by revitalizing the nerve tone, and bequeathing a vigorous healthfulness to every physical and mental function.

The cure of Chronic and obstinate disease is made a speciality, under the eye of both Physicians, who consult and give personal attendance on every case during the progress of the cure.

Invalids may come to either establishment and board with the physician's family if they prefer it (at a nominal charge), having the advantage of suitable dietetic living, without commencing water treatment, till convinced, like Sir. E. L Bulwer, of the certain efficacy and universal applicability of the system in the hands of competent practitioners.

Either Dr. Lodge or Dr. Zeigler will endeavor to attend promptly to acute cases, in Philadelphia or vicinity, and if called early in severe attacks, before drugs have been taken, are confident of not losing one patient in a thousand, as compared with Allopathic or Homœopathic practice. And in the various and sudden disorders of children (who ought not and need not die at all) one or two *timely* visits will often save severe illness, and needless anxiety and expense, if no worse.

Please call for consultation, free of charge, or write for circulars and numerous undoubted testimonials. Direct to Dr. ZEIGLER, Franklin Square, or Dr. LODGE. Chestnut Hill.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN; with Notices of his Companions in the Attack upon Harper's Ferry. Edited by RICHARD D. WEBB. This very admirable Life of John Brown, recently published in London, and carefully prepared by one of the most able anti-slavery men in Great Britain, is now for sale at the Anti Slavery Offices in New York, Philadelphia and Boston. The greater part of the edition is already sold in England. Price, One Dollar.

NEW MUSIC.—The Song of the "Contrabands"—"O Let My People Go"—as sung by them at Fortress Monroe. Words and Music through Rev. L. C. Lockwood, Chaplain. Arranged for the Piano by Thomas Baker. Price 25 cents, mailed free. This Song will be popular. Published by HORACE WATERS,
481 Broadway, New York.

Philadelphia Advertisements.

EDWARD N. HALLOWELL,
COAL DEALER,
OFFICE,
133 WALNUT STREET, BELOW SECOND
PHILADELPHIA.

STOVES.—The subscriber would respectfully inform his friends that he has on band an excellent stock of Gasburning Parlor and Cook Stoves, at very reduced prices. In purchasing he obtains his stoves only from the best founderies, for cash, hence he buys cheap and sells cheap. Those in want of stoves can convince themselves of this fact by giving him a call.
WM. STILL, 107 North Fifth St., Philadelphia.

SAMUEL WALL, HOUSE AND SIGN PAINTER AND GLAZIER, 336 North-Sixth street, solicits the patronage of his anti-slavery friends and other readers of The Standard.

UNDERTAKING.—WILLIAM HEACOCK
GENERAL FURNISHING UNDERTAKER,
NO. 18 NORTH NINTH ST., WEST SIDE (ABOVE MARKET),
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WM. HEACOCK'S FURNITURE WARE-ROOMS, No. 18 N. Ninth street, above Market, Philadelphia. Furniture made, repaired, varnished and upholstered. Mattresses made and repaired. Blinds, &c., put up and taken down. Removals and Packing of Furniture carefully attended to.

KENDERDINE & JUSTICE, Importers and Dealers in Foreign and Domestic HARDWARE, S. W. corner Spring Garden and Seventh streets, Phila. Constantly on hand a general assortment of hardware, cutlery, &c., at the lowest cash prices, wholesale or retail. Particular attention paid to furnishing hardware for buildings.
JOSEPH R. KENDERDINE, WARNER JUSTICE.

PRIZE MEDAL awarded in London, in 1851, for his superiority over all others in the manufacture of Travelling Trunks; Carpet Bags, Valices, Gum Shoes, Coaches Hobby Horses, and sole leather, steel spring, iron frame, iron-bound Trunks of all descriptions, of the best materials and workmanship. Black Leather Enamelled Bags, at the lowest prices.
THOS. W. MATTSON, Trunk Manufacturer,
130 Market street, S. W. corner Fourth, Philadelphia.

Equality to all! Uniformity of Prices! A new feature in Business. Every one his own Salesman.
JONES & Co., of the Crescent One Price Clothing Store, No. 200 Market street, above 6th, in addition to having the largest, most varied and fashionable stock of clothing in Philadelphia, made expressly for retail sales, have constituted every one his own salesman, by having marked in figures, on each article, the very lowest price it can be sold for, so they cannot possibly vary—all must buy alike. The goods are all well sponged and prepared and great pains taken with the making, so that all can buy with the full assurance of getting a good article at the very lowest price.
Remember the Crescent, in Market, above 6th, No. 200, Phila.
JONES & CO.

A LARGE assortment of SALAMANDER SAFES, of various sizes, always on hand, at No. 26 South Fourth street, Philadelphia. Warranted equal to any made in the United States. EVANS & WATSON, thankful for past favors, respectfully solicit a continuance of the same. Please give us a call before purchasing elsewhere. Patent slate-lined refrigerators, water filters, &c. large assortment always on hand.
N.B. Sole agency for Butterworth's celebrated bank, vault and door locks. These locks bid defiance to all lockpicks, Hobbs included.

CONFECTIONERY—REMOVAL.—Leatitia Bullock respectfully informs her friends and the public that she has removed to No. 152 North Sixth street, below Race, opposite the old stand, where she is prepared to furnish ice creams, water ices, jellies, cakes, candies, &c, of every description and of the best materials, all the produce of free labor, and warranted to give entire satisfaction. Parties and families furnished at shortest notice. Orders sent to any part of the city.

SIGN of the MAMMOTH PEN, No. 72 N. Fourth street (2d door below Arch), Phila., wholesale and retail stationery, blank books, &c., which we will sell lower than the usual prices. English, French and American cap, letter and note papers, envelopes, sealing wax, plain and fancy wafers of every description, very superior gold and steel pens, ink and inkstands, sand boxes, wafer stamps, paper weights, plain and fancy penholders, drawing pencils and books, Bristol board, tracing paper, impression paper, tissue paper, visiting and wedding cards, pocket books, portfolios, bankers' cases, diaries, &c.; envelopes at 10 cents per 100 and 90 cents per 1,000; mercantile firms, insurance companies, banks, &c., furnished with blank books to order, of the best materials and workmanship.
FRIENDS' MARRIAGE CERTIFICATES (*a new Plate*).
CLOTHIER & PEDRICK,
72 N. Fourth street, below Arch street.

TO THOSE WHO ARE UNWILLING TO SUPPORT SLAVERY.—During the last twelve years a store of free labor goods has been kept at the N. W. corner of Fifth and Cherry streets, in this city, for the convenience of those who wish to avoid the use of the fruits of slavery. It will scarcely be denied that the rejection of slave labor cotton, sugar and rice is a good testimony against slavery—fully as influential against that system as a refusal to pay militia fines or to purchase prize goods is against war. Will not those who are willing to make a sacrifice, if need be, to sustain their convictions on the latter subject, lend their influence in like manner against slavery? This is the only Grocery kept by a Friend in this city. Much care is taken to keep good Sugars, Syrups, Molasses, Coffees, Teas, Cocoa, Chocolate, Rice, Spices, Fruit, &c., and a variety of Dry Goods. The proprietor aims to sell as low as he can to sustain the business. With double the patronage, prices could be somewhat reduced; probably every article could be sold as low as similar goods in the market. Many are so sold now. Those who favor this Store with their custom, and procure their Teas, Coffees, Spices, Chocolate and Cocoa, &c., will find the articles good, and free from adulteration. On hand, Dried Peaches of superior quality.
GEORGE W. TAYLOR.